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QUARTERLY STATEMENT, JANUARY, 1930.]

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Prof. W. F. Albright has left his post as Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, and assumed his duties as Professor in succession to the late Paul Haupt, at Johns Hopkins University. He carries with him the goodwill of all who know his ten years' work for the school at Jerusalem, and his brilliant articles upon Palestinian history, topography and geography which flow in such rapid succession from his fertile pen. At Jerusalem he devoted a large amount of his time to assisting Arab and Syrian scholars, and his ability to use Modern Hebrew gave him a unique position among non-Jewish scholars in Jerusalem. He is succeeded by Dean C. C. McCown, of the Pacific School of Religion, in Berkeley, Cal., who is well known as a writer on Palestinian geography and folk-lore, the New Testament, and Comparative Religion.

The October Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research contains a short statement on " the troubles in Palestine," and an appreciation by Prof. Albright of the late Mr. Harold Wiener, a warm friend and generous supporter of the school. In the damage caused by the Arabs, the libraries of several distinguished Jewish scholars suffered severely. The Bulletin remarks that students need not feel deterred by the disturbances from visiting Palestine. On the one hand, the land will doubtless be peculiarly safe for a long time to come, because of the strong action taken by the Government to thwart any further turbulence. But, on the other hand, " the archæologist has always to bear in mind that his work generally lies in fields which are exposed to trouble and danger, and, as recent events show, the twentieth century has not removed these obstacles to comfort." It may be added that in *Bible Lands*, the quarterly paper of the Jerusalem and the East Mission, the Bishop's letter in the October number is a fine, impartial statement of the situation ; Dr. Rennie MacInnes writes weighty words upon the double responsibility for the lamentable outbreaks.

During October 28-November 16 an exhibition of drawings of remarkable mosaics from Jerash was held in the rooms of the P.E.F. by the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem and Yale University. The subjects of the mosaics included representations of the Deluge, views of Alexandria and Memphis, Nile-side scenery, portraits of benefactors and functionaries, life-like studies of animals and birds, etc., etc. The exhibition drew numerous visitors, who were much interested in the pictures ; and it is greatly to be hoped that it will have the effect of enlisting some much-needed support for the British School.

Dr. Badé, whose report on his latest campaign at Tell en-Nasbeh we have the pleasure of presenting to our readers in this issue. writes to correct the statement in the *Q.S.* of last January, p. 61 *sq*, The Mizpah jar-handle seal, he says, has nothing in common with the seal which Prof. Sellin found at Jericho, although subsequently he found a seal almost an exact duplicate of it.

Prof. Sir Flinders Petrie writes, apropos of Plates II and III, illustrating the excavations at Beth-Shemesh (October, p. 210) : " Material in large caves with multiple burials is naturally mixed in date. From the single tombs of Beth-pelet the above plates can be pretty closely dated. Tomb 1 (III 2) is probably Aegean pottery, and about 1400 B.C., just before vases from Amarna of 1375. Tomb 11 (II 1, 6) begins in the late Hyksos age, not after 1600, perhaps 1700, and continues in use (II, 2) till 1500 B.C., or perhaps later. The bowls (II, 3, 4) are of Cretan-Philistine nautilus pattern, which came in about 1500, and decayed in Palestine ; probably 3 is of 1500, and 4 of 1300 B.C. All of these ages are well fixed by the Egyptian connections : the scarabs which are named would greatly help in the question."

The committee are glad to report that the fifth Annual, that for 1927, has now been published and is on sale. It contains Mr. Crowfoot's report of his work at Ophel and the Tyropoeon Valley during the excavating season of 1927. He was assisted by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald, Assistant-Director of the British School of Archæology, who has written the second part of the book dealing with the pottery and smaller finds, while Mr. Crowfoot describes the buildings and levels, analysing the stratification of the site from the earliest times to the Arab Conquest and the Crusading period. The volume contains as frontispiece the Old Gate from the north-west, 22 other plates, and 21 illustrations, there are 131 pages of letterpress and an index.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archæology in Egypt dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

Miss A. H. Finn has kindly presened 500 copies of *Palestine Peasantry: Notes on their Clans, Warfare, Religion and Laws*, being a reprint of the work of her mother, the late Mrs. E. A. Finn who, with Consul Finn lived in Palestine for over seventeen years and devoted much time to a study of the social divisions and conditions of the inhabitants some fifty or more years ago, and argues that the modern Arab Fellahin are descendants of the ancient Canaanites. This interesting little book of 95 pages is on sale at 7*d*. per copy, post free.

Subscribers in the United States are asked kindly to note that subscriptions should be forwarded to the Hon. General Secretary, Prof. M. W. Randall of 55, Elizabeth Street, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.

Antiques for Sale.—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates, including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

Mr. H. C. Luke's translation and annotation of a 16th century MS., under the title of *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land*, is on sale at 4*s*. bound in cloth, and 2*s*. 6*d*. in paper covers.

The new plan of Jerusalem on a scale of approximately 1 : 5000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5*s.*; mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9*s.* The latter form is the more convenient, as owing to its size the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

The library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains some duplicate volumes. They may be purchased, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions from :—

	£	s.	d.
Capel Morris, Esq.	5	5	0
F. T. Lewis, Esq.	5	0	0
Free Church College, Edinburgh ...	1	1	0

The *Annual Report*, with Accounts and List of Subscriptions for 1928 was issued to Members of the P.E.F. with the April number.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth is £12 12s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5 except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Randall, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Hartford College, Conn.,U.S.A.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Near East and India, October 10. The Women Movement in Iraq ; October 17, The Women Movement in Syria, by E. S. Stevens ; October 31, The British School of Archæology in Palestine ; November 14, The British School of Archæology in Iraq.

Annals of Art and Archæology, October. Some Egyptian axeheads in the British Museum, by H. R. Hall ; the megalithic-culture sequence in Iberia, by C. Daryll Forde ; the burial shaft of the Tomb of Amenemhat, by Robert Mond and W. B. Emery.

The Antiquaries Journal, October. Excavations at Ur, 1928-29, by C. Leonard Woolley ; some notes on pottery from Ur, by H. Frankfort.

The Expository Times : November. The language of the Pentateuch in its relation to Egyptian, by J. E. McFadyen. Robertson Smith's Religion of the Semites, by W. M. Mathieson.

Egypt and the Sudan, 1930. The history of Architecture, by G. A. Reisner ; Recovering lost history, by M. T. Symons ; the Majesty of Luxor, by N. V. Zananiri ; etc.

Journal of Egyptian Archæology, xv., parts 3 and 4. The Sinaitic inscriptions, by A. E. Cowley ; Ptolemaic coinage in Egypt, by J. G. Milne ; a portrait-statuette of Sesostris III., by H. R. Hall ; preliminary report on the excavations at el-'Amarnah, by H. Frankfort ; note on the feminine character of the New Empire, by W. Spiegelberg ; Greek magical papyri, by A. D. Nock.

The New Judæa.

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. ix. (for 1927-28.) Beth Shemesh, 1928, by Elihu Grant ; Preliminary excavations at Tepe Gawra, by Ephraim A. Speiser.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research., October. New Israelite and Pre-Israelite sites, by W. F. Albright ; letter from the new director, Dean C. C. Mc-Cown ; the troubles in Palestine ; murder of Mr. Harold Wiener.

Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago : First report of the Prehistoric Survey Expedition, by K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell ; Medinet Habu, by H. N. Nelson and U. Hoelscher ; Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor, by H. H. van der Osten.

American Journal of Philology.

Jewish Quarterly Review.

The Homiletic Review.

Geographical Review, October. Agriculture and soils of Palestine, by A. T. Strahorn, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture (illustrated). Review of Bailey Willis, "Dead Sea Problem" and "Earthquakes in the Holy Land." by H. F. Reid.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, July. Josephus and Christian origins, by Joshua Bloch.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, September. The origin and antiquity of the Mandeans, by C. K. Kraeling; Whence came the Sumerians? by G. A. Barton.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Report of the Egyptian expedition, 1982-9, by N. de Garis Davies.

Journal Asiatique, 122, No. 2. Linguistic studies on the Hittite verb, by M. L. Delaporte; Egyptian and Negro-African parallels, by Mlle. L. Homburger.

Revue Biblique, October. The geology of Palestine after recent studies, by F. M. Abel; the American excavations of Beisan, by A. Barrois; Sculptures in S. Judæa, and a tomb at Rafat, by Abel and Barrois.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, July-December, 1928. Excavations at Mallia: a table of offerings (Egyptian and other Eastern analogies) by F. Chapouthier; Architecture and ceramics, by J. Charbonneaux, etc.

Bulletin de la Société d'Apiculture des Alpes-Maritimes, October. 81 years in Palestine, by Ph. J. Baldensperger.

Syria, Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie. X.2. The local prototype of galloping animals in the art of Nearer Asia, by Procopé-Walter; excavations at Ba'albek (9 July-29 September, 1928), by André Parrot; an epigraphical mission in Upper Syria, by P. Mouterde; inscriptions collected by Captain Rees in the desert of Syria, by René Dussaud; Musulman ceramics, by Gaston Migeon, etc.

Tell el-Mutesellim II. *Die Funde.* By Carl Watzinger.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, October. Das Problem des Spätjudentums, by O. Eissfeldt. November - The battle of Kadesh, by A. Götze; the problem of Cretan Art, by Max Pieper; review of Ginsburg's *Rome et la Judée*, by M. Dibelius.

Ephemerides Orienteles: Oriental Book-list, Harrassowitz, Leipzig (with an article, "Zu den Prachtinschriften der Alhambra," by O. G. T. Tallgren).

Archiv Orientalni: Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute Prague, I, 3, God and the gods in the teaching of Amenemope; the Indo-European invasion of Asia Minor, 2000 B.C.; by the Editor, B. Hrozny: Hittites and Greeks, by the same; Greeks and Hittites, by A. Salač, etc.

La Revue de l'Académie Arabe, July-August. Ibn Khaldun, by Sheikh Ahmad Iskindair; linguistic studies by Ed. Mourqos and Souleiman Dhaher, etc., etc.

Al-Mashrik, October. The destruction of the Arab libraries, by P. Lammens; hermit life in the Lebanon, by P. Ghaleb (cont. in November); November. Five days on foot across the Lebanon, by F. E. Boustany.

The "Seat of Moses," in Ancient Synagogues, by E. L. Sukenik (Hebrew).

Bible Lands, October, Trees and Shrubs of the Bible.

From Mr. Pilcher: *Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society.*

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.
The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.
Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.
K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837).
Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).
New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson, Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath* already in the Library; subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of——— to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE TELL EN-NASBEH EXCAVATIONS OF 1929.

A PRELIMINARY REPORT

By William Frederic Badè, Ph.D., D.D., Litt.D.,
Director of the Palestine Institute and the Tell en-Nasbeh Expedition.

During the excavation seasons of 1926 and 1927 we had succeeded in clearing a large portion of the southern end of Tell en-Nasbeh, including the great outer city wall (Bronze Age) and a narrower and still older inner wall. At one point we found unmistakable indications that a gate had pierced the Bronze Age wall, but so far up in the masonry that its subsequent destruction carried away also the remains of the gate. During the first phase of the Iron Age, when the remains of the city wall lay buried in *debris*, a road led over the top where the Bronze Age[1] gate had formerly been. There are good reasons why the road should have clung to this particular spot ; within, it was the approach to the sanctuary precinct : without, to the spring.

The North End.

In 1929 we laid our plans for an exploration of the Tell from the north end. Contours revealed by the German aeroplane photograph seemed to indicate the existence of a gate at that end. Operations were begun on the fifteenth of March by cutting a wide trench

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[1] In his attempt to prove that Tell en-Nasbeh could not have been Mizpah of Benjamin, Probst H. W. Hertzberg (Cf. ZAW, 1929, p. 195-96) has fallen into strange errors. He overlooks the fact that the gate found in 1927 at the south end of the Tell was in the *Bronze Age* wall, and therefore cannot be used for an argument about Israelite use during the *Early Iron Age*. The Israelites had a well-marked road over the top of the demolished Bronze Age wall at the point where the Bronze Age gate had formerly been. The road made a direct approach to the sanctuary precinct.

Equally beside the facts is his assumption that the sanctuary found in 1927 did not antedate the ninth century B.C. On p. 15 of my Preliminary through the extramural *debris* along a line at right angles to the clearly marked edge of the city wall. On reaching the outer face of the wall I found, to my great surprise, that it was leaning outward at so sharp an angle that it was impossible, even after shoring it up, to remove all the *debris* without endangering the lives of the workmen. At one point the talus of rock leaning against the wall showed unmistakably that it had resulted from the outward collapse of an upper section of the wall. Not far from its base were the remains of a retaining wall and beyond it a moat excavated in the limestone bed-rock. This moat was subsequently found at two other widely separated points where we made sections through the extramural *debris*, and must be regarded as a well conceived part of the city's defences.

In the course of the summer we cleared a crescent of more than a hundred metres of the wall, with adjacent city areas, but no trace of a gate was found at the north end. However, in view of the size of the city, it seems certain that there must have been another gate beside the one at the south end. Two stretches of city wall still remain to be excavated, one on the west, the other on the east side of the Tell. Since, anciently, the north-south road passed on the west side of the Tell, the probabilities are in favour of a second gate on the west side. This is a problem that still awaits solution. One more season will enable us to complete the excavation of the entire mound and so find the answer for this as for a number of other questions.

Report I have stated explicitly that both the first and the second phases of the Iron Age (1200-586 B.C.) were well represented by house levels and cistern deposits, and the sanctuary was a part of both of them. On p. 38 I also refer to evidence of the probable Maccabæan use of the high place. Last summer's excavation had made this a practical certainty, for extensive Maccabæan levels were uncovered, which integrate with Maccabæan surface remains found in and around the sanctuary in 1927. We have also good evidence to show that the use of the high place reaches back into pre-Israelite times. In AL22 our general map (cf. frontispiece of Preliminary Report) exhibits remains of what was doubtless an earlier sanctuary, not under, but beside, the later one. Hertzberg's reference for his dating of the sanctuary into the ninth century was based on a quotation from a monthly expeditionary news bulletin of June, 1927, in which no attempt was made to fix a comprehensive date for the sanctuary, because the excavations were still in progress. In short, his two main contentions, so far as the writer's Preliminary Report is concerned, are completely erroneous. For nothing is better established than that Tell en-Nasbeh was an Israelite and Jewish city from 1200 B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era, so that the sanctuary still remains "der gewichtigste Grund" against Hertzberg's general argument.

NEW FEATURES OF THE CITY WALL.

The attack upon the Tell from the north end has had the advantage of revealing the fact that the city's defences have had a more complicated history of construction than appeared from the earlier excavations at the south end. For instance, the inner and older city wall was not found at the north end, and hence no intramural area, filled in its upper level with grain bins. The main wall itself showed striking differences of construction. The builders had first excavated a wide trench, carried to bed-rock, and this they filled to a height of two metres with loose rocks, mostly small. Upon this bed of rock-fill the wall was built with courses of large stones, laid with clay mortar. The steady and increasing pressure of accumulating *debris* against the inner face of the city wall had gradually pushed it out so that, in spite of its great thickness, it began to lean outward more and more. This action was facilitated by the loose foundations and the absence of all counter pressure against the outer face of the wall. which coincided with the edge of the sharply descending rock slope of the hill. Ultimately it became necessary to save the wall from total collapse by building a buttress wall along the outside.

The structural peculiarities of this north-end wall made it necessary to ascertain, if possible, whether it was built at the same time as the Bronze Age wall at the south end. I had two sections cut through it, and the potsherds found in the masonry were carefully collected in baskets and labelled according to the successive courses of stones. There were numerous Early Bronze Age fragments, but a considerable proportion of the potsherds belonged to the Iron Age—a decisive indication that the wall. at the section points, could not have been built earlier than the Iron Age. The lowest course of the wall yielded only Early Bronze Age pottery, but this may have been accidental, for there was no structural difference between the upper courses and the lowest. At the present stage of the excavations it seems probable that during the Bronze Age only the southern half of the Tell was enclosed by a wall, and that the northern end was included during the Iron Age. In that case we should expect a wall to bisect the Tell somewhere near the centre.

SUBURBS.

One of the interesting results brought to light by the progress of this season's excavations is the fact that the ancient city extended considerably beyond the area included within the walls. There were what one might call suburbs which covered the comparatively broad, level terraces on the eastern and southern flanks of the Tell. The existence of an Iron Age suburb on the southern slope had been established during the excavations of previous years. During the season of 1929 I decided to cut a trench twenty metres wide from a point far outside the city wall directly up the eastern slope. Immediately beneath the tilled surface of the ground we found house foundations, silos, and cisterns with an abundance of first and second Iron Age pottery which coincided in fabric and forms with that found in the two upper levels on the Tell. Here there was evidence of a populous and prosperous city which occupied not only the top but also the flanks of the Tell during the Biblical period between the Judges and the Exile. As the trench was pushed into the talus of the final sharp slope of the Tell the workmen uncovered the mouth of a large cave. (*See* Plate.) Above it was a retaining wall, evidently of Israelite construction, for in its face were some squared stones not made for the use they now served. They had done earlier service somewhere in the upper courses of the main city wall. Beyond the rod wide terrace of *debris* held in by the retaining wall, rose the city wall itself, based on rock, sixteen feet thick, and well constructed.

The Cave.

When the cave was excavated its stratification furnished an epitome of the human history of the Tell. Occupation and use of the cave had ceased about 700 B.C., a period corresponding to the invasion of Sennacherib. Thereafter, apparently, *debris* began to accumulate over the opening. The upper layer of deposits, comparatively deep, contained all the characteristic forms of Iron Age pottery. Beneath this was a Middle Bronze Age stratum, and the lowest level, separated from the next above by a compact earthen floor, contained numerous fragmentary human remains mingled with Early Bronze Age pottery. There was no clearly recognisable Late Bronze Age stratum. In this respect the occupation levels of the cave coincide with the stratification on the Tell where characteristic Late Bronze Age pottery is absent or represented sparingly.

In short, the evidence points to a first use of the cave by Early Bronze Age inhabitants of Palestine as a place of burial. Remains of fourteen persons could be made out, but there may have been many more before the cave was cleared for occupation as a dwelling-place during the Middle Bronze Age. There is a suggestion of a sudden tragedy for the Early Bronze people in our discovery of a small kiln filled with pottery that had not been fired. It was at the entrance of the cave, and the pottery, made of a greenish clay, may have been intended for funerary purposes. Before the firing could take place an evil fate overtook the living and probably the dead. The Middle Bronze Age stratum of the cave contained many objects of great interest, among them a terra-cotta couch of a unique design.

INTRAMURAL AREA.

Above the cave, and within the city wall, our excavations connected with those of 1926. Here again we struck the two city walls, the outer and the inner, and in the space between them were numerous circular grain bins, like those found during the previous year. Along the inner wall ran a paved path over which purchasers and vendors, camels and donkeys, came and went when this part of the city was a busy grain market. Thirty or forty metres farther north the inner circuit wall gradually turned westward away from the main wall, thus widening the intramural area. This wider space was at this point occupied by a moderately large square building, divided into four rooms, arranged exactly like those in the Israelite sanctuary discovered on the west side of the Tell in 1927. One room, about eight by thirty feet, ran across the entire width of the building. Three others ran at right angles to it, and the central one was the largest. It contained a large circular walled structure like a storage bin, about two metres in diameter, a stone basin, and a kind of table made of two flat stones.. Among the objects found in the rooms were a terra-cotta dove, the torso of an Astarte figurine, and a small saucer lamp nested in the three-branched fork of a tree, all in terra cotta. The lamp had been covered with white slip and then painted red, just like the Astarte figurines. Therefore it probably had religious significance and was of a votive character. The dove, as is well known, was a bird sacred to Astarte. So far as the evidence warrants a conclusion, we are concerned here with a sanctuary of Astarte, the "Queen of Heaven" (Jer. xliv, 17). It may be added, as a significant fact, that in the immediate neighbourhood of this structure, heads of Astarte figurines were especially numerous, and a conical baetyl, or *mazzebah*, was also recovered in this vicinity.

NATURE OF THE CITY LEVELS.

So far as the levels within the city walls are concerned, this year's excavations gave us certainty on many points that were previously left in doubt. At the north end the uppermost level, not uniformly preserved, was Hellenistic, chiefly Maccabean. Next came a stratum which yielded chiefly II, but also I Iron Age pottery, especially in areas near the city wall. Sometimes there were two house levels in this stratum, the lower level having been partly re-used in the upper. Sometimes this took the form of new floors within the same house walls. The lower, or Early Iron, level was always the best marked and indicated a long and continuous occupation of the city during that period. A considerable amount of so-called "Philistine" ware was recovered from this level. The third stratum must in the main be described as belonging to the Middle Bronze Age. But it had a large admixture of Early Bronze Age pottery, which may be regarded as intrusive. Remains of larger structures, kilns, and silos had more successfully survived the digging activities of the Iron Age inhabitants. The final and lowest stratum, that of the Early Bronze Age, was in contact with bed-rock. It had been much disturbed, and was found unmixed only in silos and natural cavities in bed-rock. Large quantities of ledge-handles were found in all the levels, but particularly in the lowest. So abundant in sheer bulk is this Early Bronze Age ware on Tell en-Nasbeh that we must assume for that period a long-continued and populous settlement on the hill-top.

STUDY OF CERAMICS.

During the season just closed we had an especially competent staff of fourteen members, and consequently were able to give close attention to a number of special problems. Four members, trained in the study of Palestinian ceramics, gave particular attention to nearly three thousand half-bushel baskets of potsherds that were brought down from the Tell. One member gave his whole time to the accurate labelling of the baskets, and the numbering of rooms, silos, cisterns, and other structures. After being brought down to headquarters the potsherds were washed, and examined in detail· Five by eight inch cards were used to make notes on the contents of each basket, and these were filed according to provenience for future reference or further study. In addition, all unusual forms, objects, or decorations were drawn to scale on five by eight inch millimetre-ruled cards, and these were filed with the basket cards. In this manner over two thousand eight hundred and twenty object drawings were added to our files, besides the seven hundred and sixty-eight which were recorded in our museum book.

Stamped Jar Handles.

It was probably in part due to this systematic scrutiny of potsherds that we found during the past season a dozen or more jar handle seal inscriptions and graffiti on pottery. Two bear the name of the deity in the form of " Yah " or " Yahu." One bears the consonants MZH, probably referring to the feast of unleavened bread. These three seal impressions resemble similar ones found by Sellin and Watzinger at Jericho. Still another, very different from the last mentioned, bears the consonants MZP, and is therefore a companion piece of the MZP (Mizpah ?) stamp found in 1927. There are a number of jar handle stamps with a flying eagle and the well-known legend " For the King. Hebron." On one impression which bears the simple legend " For the King " (le-Melek), the tail feathers are so clearly indicated that the stamp-maker's intention to represent a bird and not a flying scroll can no longer be doubted. The graffiti are of some epigraphical importance on account of the forms of the Hebrew letters employed, but must be reserved for a separate discussion. Practically all the jar handle stamps were found in the II. and I. Iron Age levels. Unless a closer study of our detailed records of the ceramic context should oblige me to modify my present conclusions, these jar handle inscriptions belong to the period between 900 and 600 B.C.

The Necropolis.

The possible whereabouts of the Tell en-Nasbeh necropolis has for the writer been a subject of considerable thought during the past three years. There are numerous empty tombs in the rock terraces on the slopes of the Tell, but all of them appear, judged by their structure, to be isolated tombs of no great age. It seemed clear that for so populous a city there must have been a general burial place somewhere in the vicinity of the Tell. During the last month of the 1929 excavations I undertook a systematic search of the ridges and slopes contiguous to our city mound, and with most gratifying results. On the western slope of a ridge north of the Tell I observed in the slightly exposed bedrock what seemed to be the remains of a much weathered cutting. Removal of the accumulated debris soon brought to light a shallow forecourt, chiseled out of the limestone, and at its east end an upright door-stone was found still in place in the stone frame of a tomb entrance. Close to it, but on the north side of the sunken forecourt, was a smaller door-stone, fitted like a lid into the frame of another opening.

It was evident that this was a tomb of considerable age. On removal of the larger door-stone the front of the tomb was found to be solidly filled with black earth carried in by seepage of water through ill-fitting joints in the doorway. When this earth had been removed it was found to be a tomb with a double history. The first burial, judging by the pottery, had been made about 700 B.C.; the second belonged to the Hellenistic period, about 250 B.C., or later. Only a part of the debris within the tomb, together with the skeletal remains, had been removed for the second burial, so that both deposits of funerary gifts were substantially preserved. The Hellenistic deposit comprised a number of vases and jars which were clearly imitations of Greek forms. One of them was an alabastron. There was also a small globular vase of fine thin paste, which is a remarkable faithful representation of a pomegranate. The prominent segmented calyx was made to serve as the neck of the vase, and even the scar made by tearing the fruit from the stem was faithfully imitated. A varied collection of jewelry, including rings, fibulæ, brooches, and ear-rings, accompanied the ceramic deposit.

The second and older deposit, dated provisionally near the beginning of the second phase of the Iron Age (800-586 B.C.), was represented by thirty pieces of pottery, among them eleven saucer lamps. Only one of them had a slight foot, afact which, by comparison with lamps found in rooms and stratified deposits on the Tell, would tend to push back the date of this deposit to the close of the Iron Age I. (1200-800 B.C.). The fact that only a few fragmentary human remains were found in the tomb may, as already suggested, be most plausibly explained by the supposition that at the time of the second burial the skeletons of the first burial were removed. The contents of the small tomb on the left side of the main entrance support this view. It seems originally to have been intended for the burial of an infant. Having been opened also at the time of the Hellenistic burial, and being found too small, some large bones of adults from the main tomb were thrust into it before it was closed again. In any case there were found in this niche some large bones of an adult lying on top of the very slight remains of a child burial. No other object furnished any clue to its purpose or past history.

More difficult is it to account for the almost complete absence of skeletal remains in connection with the secondary Hellenistic burial, more especially since the door-stones were still in place. Perhaps the tomb was robbed a few years after burial. The smallness of the funerary deposit could then be accounted for on the assumption that the most valuable objects were removed together with the skeletons, or perhaps an ossuary containing the bones. The recovery of a small ornamental bronze handle of some receptacle which was no longer in the tomb, favours this explanation.

Tomb Number V.

Feeling sure that there were other tombs in the immediate neighbourhood, I had the thin cover of *debris* removed from the underlying rock, and soon we found the opening of another tomb close to the preceding. Its door-stone was gone. A flight of three stone steps led down from the small square opening into a central oblong pit flanked around the top by passages nearly a metre in width. At the back was another room whose floor had been sunk to the same depth as the pit in front. Both chambers were filled with earth to within a foot of the ceiling. When cleared, this tomb was found to contain an astonishing amount of pottery of the Early Iron Age (1200-800 B.C.), and is, therefore, contemporaneous with the earlier period of Old Testament history. Two scarabs, found with the pottery, will be submitted to expert Egyptologists, for they may furnish a more definite date for the burial deposit.

The tomb has yielded one hundred and eighty-three museum objects, besides much other material for historical study. One curious terra-cotta bottle-jar, so far as known, is unique. It simulates, with incised spirals, a bee-hive built up in a blunt cone by means of coiled ropes of straw. A spirally incised bottle-neck on the side makes the doorway for the bees. Inside of the jar was found a wax-like deposit which, on chemical examination, may confirm the plausible supposition that it was used to provide a food offering of honey for the dead.

Another piece of pottery suggests a swan. The long curbed neck is surmounted by a pitcher mouth with laterally pinched lips simulating a mandible. On top, or in other words on the back, are painted in red and black bands the outlines of wings. This object may have come from Cyprus, or may be a local imitation of Cypriote art. Among the scores of other vessels are amphoras, bottle-jugs, pitchers, saucers, chalices, an incense-burner, and other forms hard to describe. There were scores of small black juglets which probably contained oil or some other substance deemed important to the dead. Equally numerous were the saucer lamps, and not one of them had even the suggestion of a foot. Among thirty bowls of various sizes and forms there were some that had been pebble-burnished over a deep-red slip.

After clearing these two tombs I once more examined the surroundings on the slope where they were situated, and became fully convinced that we had found the Tell en-Nasbeh necropolis, the city of the dead. The only question on which we needed further light was the length of the historical period during which burials had been made here. The two tombs already cleared covered the period from the Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic period, 1200 to 250 B.C. Was the slope also used for burials during the Bronze Age? Not more than forty feet away from the above-mentioned tombs I found on the surface a fragment of a ledge handle which seemed to answer my question affirmatively.

Last Hour Discoveries.

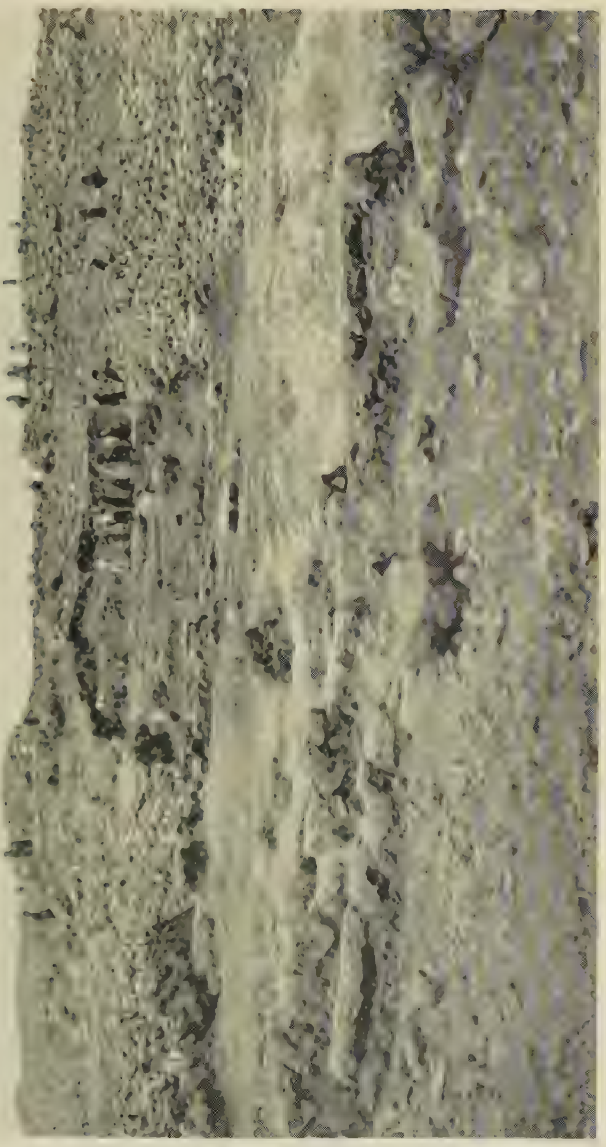
To gain, if possible, more certainty on this point, I directed an Egyptian foreman and two local workmen to sink a shaft where the tell-tale ledge handle fragment was found, and before long we had other ledge handles and a basketful of Early Bronze Age ware of the kind found in our deepest level on the Tell. The excavation soon opened the broken-down remains of a typical Early Bronze cave tomb, and a passage leading away from it into bed-rock beyond, may be the approach to one that is still undisturbed. But we were too close to the date agreed upon with the Department of Antiquities for the division of the season's finds to risk the opening of another tomb. Our whole staff, working at the utmost pressure, could scarcely hope to complete, in the time remaining, the drawing, photographing, and recording of the objects which already covered all our tables and shelves at headquarters. So I reluctantly gave directions to wall up the underground passage and fill up the shaft in expectation of a time when we may return to delve still further into the historical secrets of that rocky and weather-beaten hillside.

The same pressure for time and space compelled us to halt on the brink of interesting revelations in the excavations on the Tell. itself. At the farthest edge of the last strip excavated, we opened on the inner edge of the city wall a vaulted passage and a long flight of stone steps leading down into—what ? Around the entrance were house foundations of the Maccabean period, and house walls running out upon the city wall during a long time after the last walled city had ceased to exist. Two Hellenistic lamps and a coin found in the descending passage suggest that the Maccabees were its builders, and certainly the last who used it. When fully excavated it was found to end in an underground cave or grotto. In the centre was the mouth of a rock-hewn cistern carefully covered with flat stones, a bit of thoughtfulness which shows that those who did it had no expectation of leaving it forever as they walked up the long flight of steps two thousand years ago.

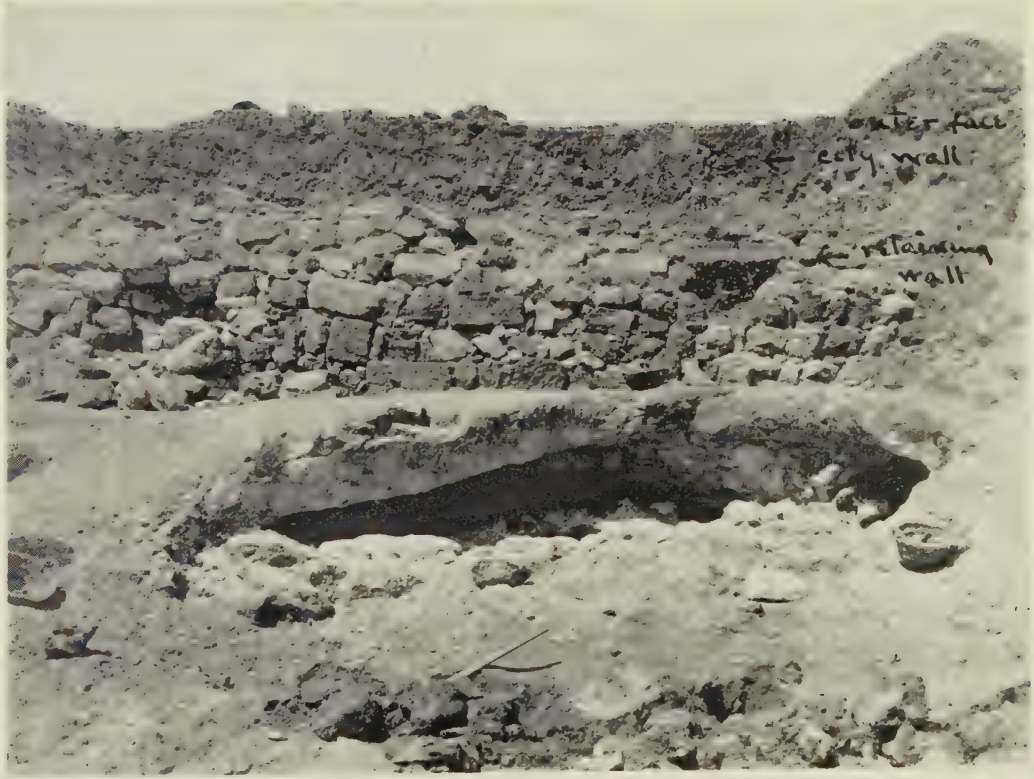
A peep into the depths of the cistern showed a small cone of loose *debris* rising above the washed-in sediment at the bottom. Its connection with the Maccabaean level, and the fact of its being. underground, made me eager to excavate the cistern. A week might have sufficed to extract and record the secrets of its past. But we had no week to spare. So we had to content ourselves with photographs and drawings of the externals. Under my direction the workmen then built a wall across the passage to the grotto and spread a deep blanket of earth over the top.

A GRAECO-ROMAN TOMB.

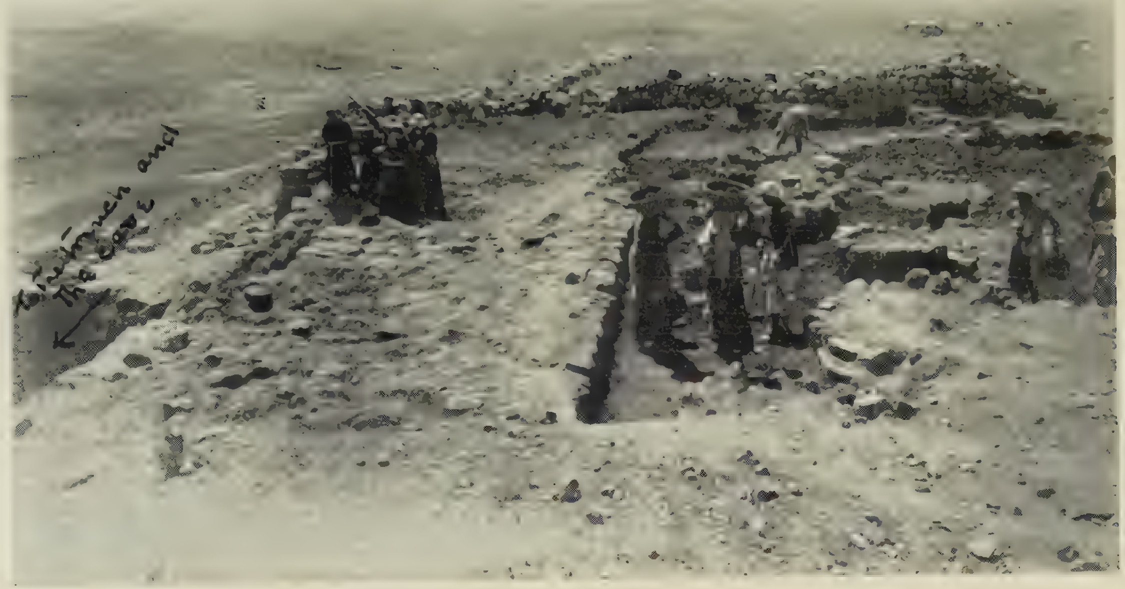
In conclusion, we must recur once more to what we shall now call the North Cemetery. In the immediate vicinity of the Iron Age Tombs III, and V I had observed partly collapsed and weathered-



[illegible] CUTTING THE TRENCH UP THE EAST SLOPE. I. AND II. IRON AGE HOUSE FOUNDATIONS IN THE FOREGROUND.


outer face
city wall
retaining
wall

Tell-en-Nasbeh. The Cave on the East Slope of the Tell; above it is a Section of Israelite Retaining Wall, and the Main Wall itself.



TELL-EN-NASBEH. TOP OF CITY WALL ABOVE THE TRENCH AND CAVE ON EASTERN SLOPE: VIEW LOOKING SOUTH. GRAIN BINS OF II. IRON AGE EMERGING IN AREA BETWEEN INNER AND OUTER CITY WALLS.

out tombs, whose surface appearance indicated that they belonged to the Hellenistic or even to a later period. One of these, the best preserved, had a covered forecourt about six feet square, and not quite six feet high. It had been hewn from a ledge of limestone. The whole of the west side was open to the weather. The smooth vertical wall of the east end was pierced at the floor level by a small square opening scarcely large enough to admit a man. Both the forecourt and the entrance were choked with rocks and soil to such an extent that no animal larger than a fox could have entered the tomb. After this had been cleared away, it could be seen that the tomb itself was filled with *debris* nearly to the top,

On consulting the Arab owner of the land on which the tomb was located, he told me that it had been opened by an Arab purveyor of antiquities just before the war, that he employed only one assistant, and that he felt sure the tomb had not been entirely cleared. It was, indeed, still largely filled with washed-in *debris*. Desiring to ascertain, if possible, the age of the tomb, I directed one of our Egyptian gang-leaders to clear it and two women carriers to sift the materials for small objects. We were not disappointed. Very soon a coin of Herod Archelaus came to light. This Archelaus, who ruled from 4 B.C. to 6 A.D., is the one mentioned in Matthew ii, 22. He was a cruel ruler, and committed many outrages upon the Jews. The latter denounced him so bitterly at Rome that he was cited by the Emperor Augustus to appear before him. Unable to justify himself, he was banished to Vienna in Gaul in the year 6 A.D. The tomb, therefore, belongs approximately to the beginning of the Christian era. Remains of beads, jewellery, seals, lamps, and other objects recovered are also appropriate to this period, and are of special historical interest, on account of their chronological coincidence with the boyhood of Jesus of Nazareth.

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM.

The Ninth Annual General Meeting of the School was held on Friday, October 25th, 1929, in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury presided. The Director of the School, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A., gave details of the School's Excavations at Jerash (Gerasa), and Miss Dorothy Garrod described her investigations of Palæolithic deposits at Athlît.

Mr. C. E. Mott (Hon. Secretary) announced that letters regretting inability to be present had been received from Field-Marshal the Right Hon. Viscount Allenby, Sir Arthur Keith, Professor R. A. S. Macalister, Professor F. C. Burkitt, Dr. S. A. Cook, Professor E. A. Gardner, Rev. A. H. Sayce, and Mr. Robert Mond.

Mr. Mott then read the minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on October 26th, 1928, which were confirmed and signed by His Grace.

Professor J. L. Myres (Chairman of Council) then moved the adoption of the Annual Report for the year of 1928-1929, together with the Accounts for 1928 (p. 26). This was seconded by Mr. Mott.

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury : If no one wishes to make any observations, I should like, before putting the resolution to the vote, to say that I feel it a great honour to be in this way associated with a very great work being carried on in a most fascinating part of the world. I have, indeed, very little qualification for this honour. I cannot claim to have that knowledge of Jerusalem and Palestine which is possessed by my most distinguished friend, Lord Plumer, who has honoured us with his presence here to-day. I have never myself been in Jerusalem. I had hoped to be there in the spring, but I was prevented owing to lack of time. I am not going on this occasion to allude to certain fantastic reasons which were assigned for my not going to Jerusalem and which obtained a most astonishing circulation in the East. They have already been fully exposed, but they remain a very interesting if not very creditable record of journalistic fiction. Until recently I knew comparatively little with regard to the actual work being done by the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, though, indeed, I have a personal interest in two of its students, Miss Kitson Clark and Mr. Jones, who is a younger member of that happy family of All Souls' College, Oxford, of which I have been a member for forty years, and I take great interest in the work of one of our younger members.

As for archæology itself, I have little knowledge; so I can genuinely profess the most intense and constant interest. Here I suppose I am representing not any expert knowledge, but the general public and religious life of this country. In so far as I may claim to do so I should like this afternoon to testify, in the strongest possible way, to my sense of the importance of this work being maintained. Beyond question, the three mainsprings of civilisation, certainly in the West and in the Near East, are Athens, Rome, and Jerusalem; the springs of culture, of political order, of religion. We have great Schools in Athens and in Rome. It seems to me quite essential that there should be an equally vigorous and thoroughly established school at Jerusalem. And yet when I read the draft Report which has now been submitted to you, especially its concluding passages which hinted that the School was only secure until next summer, then like a great figure in the history of Jerusalem I confess I sat down astonished. I could scarcely believe that it was possible that the School in Jerusalem should be in any kind of danger whatsoever. It seems to me unthinkable that the learned and even the ordinary educated public of this country should allow such a calamity to take place, and it is beacuse I feel a certain sense of shame as a Briton in the contemplation of such a possibility that I have ventured to say these words before I put the resolution.

I know we all realise the special responsibility which we in this nation have incurred to Palestine and Jerusalem. We have a Mandate given to us for the care of that country—small in extent but unequalled in the richness of its associations and of its history—and included in that Mandate is our special care for the antiquities of the country. Beyond our interest in the antiquities of Athens and of Rome we have no such direct national responsibility as we have in Jerusalem. It seems to me that it would be quite extraordinary if the Mandatory Power were to proclaim to the learned world throughout Europe and in America and to the East that it is so inadequately aware of its trust in regard to those antiquities, that it is unable to sustain its School of Archæology. The work which has been done by the French School, the German School, and the American School, in many departments we all know. Nothing is more admirable that the team work which is being done by trained scholars from all these different countries. It is to me really unthinkable that direct representatives of the culture and, I should say, the gratitude of this nation, should be withdrawn.

Evidently—especially from what the Chairman of the Council, Professor Myres, has said—the good work that has been done is unquestioned. We shall ourselves hear from Mr. Crowfoot and Miss Garrod this afternoon some account of part of the work. I know enough about it to realise how much has been really achieved by the Director and students of the British School. Therefore we have made a great contribution, and that contribution ought most certainly to be maintained. No doubt the Schools at Athens and at Rome make very special appeal to persons of culture, but the work of the School in Jerusalem ought to appeal to a very much wider public, because for ten who owe a great debt to the culture of Athens and to the political genius of Rome, there are hundreds who owe what they would call a deeper debt to the spiritual traditions and memories of Jerusalem and Palestine. Thus I should think that the support of the British School in Jerusalem ought to be wider and more generous even than the support of the Schools at Athens and at Rome. Therefore, while we make our plea to the learned societies, the universities and colleges throughout the country to continue and, if it may be, increase the help that they give to the School, I venture to say that we are entitled in this matter to make our appeal to a much wider public.

In that connection, I confess I was glad to hear what Professor Myres has just said—to use a common phrase in these days—about exploring the possibilities of closer co-operation between the School and the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. These matters are too high for me, and I dare not trust myself to make any comment upon them, beyond saying this: that as an interested, a deeply interested, spectator, it seems to me that it ought to be possible to make some arrangement whereby what is already a close scholarly union should become a more definite co-operation. It seems to me that the Palestine Exploration Fund, with its long history and its large circle of friends, might contribute just that wider element of support which the British School of Archæology ought to command, and that the School would be able to give to the Palestine Exploration Fund a succession of really trained and scholarly students, excavators and scholars. Anyhow, however it is to be done, I venture to think that the good name of British scholarship and of British religion will not allow itself to be tarnished by any possibility that, at the General Meeting of the friends of this School next year, it should have to be said that it must either abandon or seriously cripple the range of its activities. I do not know that we who are here can do very much, except make our appeal, but it is one, I venture to think, that ought to touch the conscience of British scholarship, British religion, and British patriotism.

The Report and Accounts were then unanimously adopted.

On the motion of Mr. ROBERT PENNEY, seconded by Archdeacon BERESFORD POTTER, the Officers and Auditors were re-elected.

Mr. J. W. CROWFOOT (Director of the British School of Archæology) then gave an account of the School's excavations at Jerash (p. 20), and Miss DOROTHY GARROD described her investigation of Palæolithic Deposits at Athlît, an account of which was published in *Q.S.*, Oct., 929, p. 220.

Sir FREDERIC KENYON proposed a vote of thanks to His Grace for presiding, to Mr. Crowfoot and to Miss Garrod for their sketches of the work being carried on, and to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries for the use of the meeting room. Sir Frederic thanked His Grace for his most eloquent appeal on behalf of the work of the School, and hoped that his words would have effect, for there was no

School which had more fully justified, in so short a time, the work that it had done, and no school had received more earnest testimony to the value of its work from those who were in a position to judge. From His Grace's predecessor in office, who had presided at the first meeting of the School: from the great soldiers who had served and commanded in Palestine, Lord Plumer and Lord Allenby; from Sir John Chancellor, who had succeeded them in their responsible posts, testimony had been given as to the high importance of the work being done in Jerusalem. Anyone concerned with archæology must realise, as he himself did, the value of having a centre of that kind in which young men and women could be trained to do archæological work, for which there was such great demand. He knew from his own official knowledge that there were not in existence sufficient trained archæologists for field work, and that whereas opportunities for work had greatly increased, particularly since Great Britain took over the Mandates for Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq, the number of persons competent to lead and conduct expeditions was sadly deficient. To make good that deficiency, schools of archæology were essential, and it would be lamentable if the work which the British School had tried to do failed for lack of public support. He hoped His Grace's words would call forth public response which would enable the School to carry on its important work. If it was necessary to have justification for that work, what could one want more than the two addresses which had just been delivered? They represented two branches of work—not all the branches—that the School had undertaken; work carried out by two most competent leaders, Mr. Crowfoot and Miss Garrod. He felt sure all would agree in expressing heartfelt thanks for the interesting sketches which those workers had given of the work carried out.

Lord Plumer, seconding the vote of thanks, said he had had some personal experience of the energy, zeal and devotion with which both Mr. Crowfoot and Miss Garrod had carried out the work they had undertaken. He congratulated them on the clear way in which they had presented the accounts of their work, and at the same time endorsed all that Sir Frederic had said, in trusting that the eloquent speech of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury would receive wide publicity, and thereby result in adequate financial and practical support for the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. Whether the appeal received that support or not, he hoped the School would not be deterred from carrying on, but would persevere. This he especially asked and hoped, in view of the recent deplorable events which had occurred in Palestine: because he was quite sure that, apart from the value of the work, apart from its importance from the point of view of prestige, the fact that work being done by the British School of Archæology was not allowed to be interrupted by any such events, would be a testimony which would carry great weight with all the inhabitants, in making them quite clearly understand that, no matter what happened, the authorities of the British Empire intended to carry out to the full the duties and responsibilities entrusted to them.

The vote of thanks having been unanimously accorded, His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in returning thanks, endorsed all that had been said as to the interest of the addresses by Mr. Crowfoot and Miss Garrod. It had been the greatest possible delight to him to be taken out of the region of perpetual interviews and administration into an entirely different world. He owed both speakers more than they could realize for the very great pleasure and refreshment they had given him. Who, having seen the slides, could doubt that what they had done was further proof of the value of the School? Surely all would redouble their desire to see that the School was continued and strengthened in its work.

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM.

REPORT FOR THE SEASON 1928–29.

The Council has again to report a year of fruitful activity, but the subscribers and other friends of the School are asked to consider seriously the financial position, for the School cannot be kept open beyond the next season unless more adequate funds are raised.

The Director returned to Jerusalem early in September, 1928, and resumed work on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund on the Ophel site already partly excavated in 1927–28. He had the help of Dr. Sukenik of the Hebrew University as Assistant Field Director, and of Mr. Johns, the Librarian of the School. This work was finished early in January, and the results will be published in due course by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

The next two months, during which field-work is impossible except in the extreme south of Palestine, were mostly spent in Jerusalem. A preliminary report on the Ophel excavations was prepared, visits were paid to Athlît, to Beit-Alpha, and to Amman, and a series of popular lectures was given at the School, as follows :—

Feb. 11 .... *Excavations at Jerash*, 1928. By the Director.
Feb. 18 .... *Prehistoric Research in Caves in Western Judaea and Kurdistan*, 1928. By Miss D. A. E. Garrod.
Feb. 25 .... *Work on Ophel*, 1927–28. By the Director.
Mar. 5 .... *Turkish Art in Palestine, XVIth century.* By Dr. L. A. Mayer.

These lectures were very well attended, and evidently much appreciated.

Excavations at Jerash.—In continuance of the School's agreement with Yale University, the Director resumed work about the middle of March at Jerash (Gerasa) in Trans-Jordan. Throughout the season were present Mrs. Crowfoot, Messrs. A. H. M. Jones and R. W. Hamilton, students of the School, and Mr. Ignaz Reich, architect. Dr. Clarence Fisher spent a month later in the season drawing the plans ; Mr. Joseph Schweig took photographs of the churches and mosaics ; and Mr. C. C. Roach represented Yale University for the greater part of the season.

The large Church east of the Fountain-Court (excavated in 1928), and a splendid flight of steps connecting this with the main street of Gerasa, were cleared; also a complex of three Churches, built early in the reign of Justinian, west of the Church of Saint Theodore; a fourth Church to the south-west; a fifth behind the Temple of Artemis, built (as was discovered) over a Synagogue; and a sixth on the extreme west of the site, built in the seventh century. These buildings and their remarkable mosaic floors will be described by the Director at the Annual Meeting on October 25. Excavation ended about the middle of June, and the Director returned to England in July to prepare the results for publication.

Excavations at Athlît.—Miss Dorothy Garrod, who had been excavating the Shukbah Cave on behalf of the School in the early part of 1928, spent the autumn excavating palaeolithic cave-deposits near Sulimanyieh in Iraq, and returned to Palestine in December with the intention of resuming work at Shukbah. Early in the winter, however, a casual find revealed a rich palaeolithic deposit in a cave near Athlît, and the Department of Antiquities, after preliminary reconnaissance by Mr. Lambert, most generously invited the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem to undertake the exploration of it. Accordingly Miss Garrod postponed work at Shukbah, and devoted the whole season to Athlît. Here the results have been already of the highest scientific importance; they will be described by Miss Garrod at the Annual Meeting, and published when the exploration of the cave has been completed. This work, like that at Shukbah, was undertaken in conjunction with the American School of Prehistoric Research; Miss Garrod was assisted by Miss Ewbank and Miss Kitson Clark, Students of the British School in Jerusalem, as well as by two representatives of the American School. The cost has been generously defrayed by Mr. Robert Mond.

Excavation at Khan el-Ahmar.—In 1928 the Rev. D. J. Chitty, Student of the School, partially excavated the ruined Church of Saint Euthymius. In July, 1929, he resumed work, with a Robert Mond Studentship, and the help of Lieut.-Commander A. G. Buchanan, R.N. (retired), Student of the School, and Mr. Michael Marcoff, whose exploration of the hermitages and cave-chapels in the Wilderness of Judaea is adding valuable details in its history and topography. The Council gratefully acknowledges contributions to the cost of this excavation from New College, Oxford, and from the Sanday Memorial Fund.

Students of the School this season were twelve in number, of whom five were new-comers. It will be seen from their academic distinctions that the School is well fulfilling its function as a centre of advanced scholarship, as well as of field-work.

Mr. M. B. Aviyonah (1929: University College, London) has been studying the fragments of lead sarcophagi in the Palestine Museum, and has prepared a valuable note on them.

Lieut.-Commander A. G. Buchanan, R.N. (retired) (1928), returned to Palestine in October, to a temporary appointment in the Trans-Jordan Department of Antiquities. From July onward he took part in the School's excavation at Tell el-Ahmar. The Council offers its congratulations on his marriage.

Rev. D. J. Chitty (1927: B.A., New College, Oxford) returned to Palestine in July with a Robert Mond Studentship, and resumed the excavation of Khan el-Ahmar (*q.v.*), which he began in 1928.

Miss Elinor K. Ewbank, B.A. (1929: Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford), helped Miss Garrod at Athlît, but was unfortunately disabled by illness for part of the season.

Miss Dorothy A. E. Garrod, B.A. (1928: Newnham College, Cambridge), excavated caves in Iraq and at Athlît (*v.* above). She is to be congratulated on her election to a Research Fellowship at Newnham College.

Mr. R. W. Hamilton, B.A. (1929: Magdalen College, Oxford), arrived in January, took part in excavation at Jerash, and studied Arabic, topography and antiquities. He is to be congratulated on his election to a Senior Demyship at Magdalen, and his appointment on the staff of the Pennsylvania University Archaeological Expedition at Medum in Egypt.

Mr. H. J. Hine, B.A. (1927: Exeter College, Oxford), had been compelled by ill-health to leave his work in the Pennsylvania University excavation at Beisān; but returned in the summer of 1929, with a Robert Mond Studentship, to make a general survey of the ancient human remains found in recent excavations in the Levant. It was his intention to begin work in Palestine, but he was unavoidably detained in Egypt, fell ill, and was obliged to return home.

Mr. C. N. Johns (1928: Librarian of the School), took part in excavation at Ophel, and prepared a catalogue of the coins found there. During the summer months he has been helping

Mr. Horsfield at Ajlun in Trans-Jordan, and has now joined the Pennsylvania University Archaeological Expedition.

Mr. A. H. M. Jones, M.A. (1928: Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford), returned to Palestine in March, and took part in excavation at Jerash. The Council heartily congratulates him on his recent appointment to a Lectureship in Ancient History in the University of Cairo.

Miss Mary Kitson-Clark, B.A. (1929: Cambridge University Studentship), helped Miss Garrod at Athlît throughout the season.

Mr. J. Mauchline, B.D. (1929: Glasgow University Studentship), arrived early in November. His studies were mainly linguistic, but he made good use of opportunities for topographical and archaeological observations. He returned home in March to enter on ministerial work.

Mr. F. Turville-Petre (1925: Exeter College, Oxford) assisted Miss Garrod in her work in Iraq in the autumn of 1928. The School received from the Department of Antiquities permission for him to excavate a group of rude stone monuments near Chorazin, but at present he has not been able to avail himself of this.

Distribution of Duplicate Antiquities.—By the courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, the School has been enabled to distribute representative series of objects from its excavation in the Tabgah Caves, where the "Galilee Skull" was found in 1925, to the British Museum and to subscribing institutions as follows:—The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Glasgow, and Toronto, and the McGill University, Montreal.

A similar series of objects from the Shukbah Cave has now been released, and will be distributed shortly to subscribing institutions in accordance with the amount of their subscriptions.

Publication.—The following communications resulting from the work of the School have appeared in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in accordance with the agreement announced last year:—

	PAGE
J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A.—	
The Church of St. Theodore at Jerash	17
Jerash, 1929. Progress Report, March 16 to April 4	179
The Discovery of a Synagogue at Jerash	211
Dorothy Garrod. Excavation in the Mugharet el-Wad, near **Athlît.** April–June, 1929	220

	PAGE
E. HANBURY HANKIN, M.A., D.Sc. The Structure of the Mosaics from the Church of St. Euthymius at Khan el-Ahmar....	98
A. H. M. JONES. Notes on Jewish Inscriptions at Jerash	110
MICHAEL MARCOFF and the REV. D. J. CHITTY. Notes on Monastic Research in the Judaean Wilderness, 1928–29	167
PROF. J. L. MYRES, O.B.E., F.B.A. British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem: Report for Season 1927–28	43
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Arrangements are being made for the full publication, in due course, of the discoveries at Jerash, Shukbah, and Athlît.

Finance.—From the Statement of Accounts for the calendar year 1928, and an interim statement herewith, for the first nine months of 1929, it will be clear to the supporters of the School that unless a large additional sum can be raised within the next few months, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, in its present shape, must cease to exist at the close of the session now beginning.

Ever since the Treasury grant of £500 per annum was discontinued in 1927, the School has been kept open only by drawing heavily on its deposit account. As our interim statement shows, this deposit is now nearly exhausted, and at the beginning of 1930 the School's general account will show a balance of little more than £200.

A special appeal sent out in the latter part of 1928 is represented in the Statement of Accounts by an enlarged printer's bill and an honorarium to the Assistant Secretary, but by no corresponding increase of income from subscriptions. The private efforts of friends of the School have secured a few fresh subscriptions and donations from learned societies and academic bodies. But a letter sent to *The Times* in January, backed though it was by the commendation of Viscount Allenby and Sir Frederic Kenyon, only produced one subscription of two guineas. Under present conditions, it is evidently not by public appeals that the revenue of the School will be increased.

Generous contributions earmarked for special purposes have made it possible to carry on researches of high value, and to maintain, perhaps even to enhance, the prestige of the British School; and there is a sufficient balance in hand on these special accounts to ensure the continuance of excavations left unfinished this summer, at Jerash, Athlît, and Shukbah; at Khan el-Ahmar it is expected that work will be finished before the end of the year. The Robert

Mond Studentship Fund, likewise, has a small balance which will enable the School to assist not more than two students to go out to Palestine in 1929.

But the maintenance of the School's modest premises and working library in Jerusalem (about £300 annually) and the current office expenses in London (about £100) are barely met by the annual subscriptions, not earmarked for special researches as above.

To provide, therefore, for the Director's salary for 1930 it is necessary to raise forthwith £600 of fresh income ; and it is at this point especially that the lapse of the Treasury grant, already mentioned, has brought the British School to the present crisis in its affairs. For without such guarantee of a minimum income even for a short term of years, it is impossible either to offer security of tenure to the responsible head of the institution, or to observe any consistent policy of systematic research, or provision for advanced students. The permanent establishment of the School has to be sacrificed to short-lived projects for which donations can be collected at the moment : an expedient impolitic and also undignified, for what ought to be—and in spite of obstacles has (the Council believes) come to be—one of the principal centres of study and research in Palestine.

A fresh set-back, this year, is the decision of the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, communicated to the Council of the British School of Archaeology in June, 1929, to discontinue its excavations, and consequently also the subsidy of £200 which the Fund has recently been paying to the School for conducting those excavations on the Fund's behalf.

Though this decision does not itself terminate existing arrangements between the Fund and the School at the end of 1929, the Council of the School will have to consider afresh the provision to be made both for the publication of the School's excavation reports, at present communicated to the *Quarterly Statement* of the Fund, and also for the conduct of the School's affairs in England on more economical lines.

It will therefore probably be necessary to submit to the subscribers, in the course of the coming winter, proposals either for the reorganization of the School, or for closing it altogether and disposing of its library, excavation outfit, and other effects, after the next excavation season.

THE CHURCHES OF GERASA, 1928, 1929.

By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A.

Director of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem.

The University of Yale and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem agreed two years ago to send a joint expedition to Gerasa to explore the churches and other remains of the early Christian period there. The ruins of six churches were known to exist there. In the last two seasons the joint expedition has discovered the ruins of eight others, and ten churches in all have been excavated down to the floor. The classic expeditions of M. de Vogüé in the last century and Mr. H. C. Butler in the present century, to which we owe most of our knowledge of Christian antiquities in Syria, were precluded from making excavations; consequently it was certain that our knowledge was very incomplete, and the sympathetic attitude of the Trans-Jordan Government by facilitating our researches in every way has enabled us to supplement their work to a material degree.

Gerasa lies on the east side of the fertile highlands which separate the Jordan valley from the Arabian desert. As the crow flies, it is only about 23 miles east of the Jordan and about 53 north-east of Jerusalem, but these figures are deceptive; the country is seamed with deep watercourses, and to go from Gerasa to Amman or Jerusalem one has to follow a most circuitous route.

Gerasa itself was built on both sides of a tributary of the Jabbok; the banks rise steeply from the river and the hilly ground on each side was so broken that it was only after much artificial terracing, that it was possible to secure level platforms for the larger buildings. Here the rock had to be cut back, there embankments had to be constructed against it, and long flights of steps were necessary to lead from one level to another. The peculiar charm of the site is largely due to this.

Before we began work, the ruins of Gerasa appeared to belong almost wholly to the classical period. The sites of six churches, as we have said, could be identified with some difficulty, but their remains were insignificant beside the remains of the two great Pagan temples, the theatres and the baths, the Propylæa, the Nymphæum, and the colonnaded street. These classical buildings still dominate the site, and yet a closer investigation has shown that, apart from those buildings we have just enumerated, there is practically nothing visible on the surface which does not come from constructions of the centuries after Constantine.

Why have the churches fallen while the walls of the temples are still standing? This question can only be answered when we have learned how completely the two buildings differed in plan and structure from the very beginning.

The ritual of the church was developed from the ritual of the synagogue, and churches like synagogues were designed primarily as meeting places for a congregation assembled to observe the ritual of their religion. The architect's first consideration, therefore, was for the interior disposition of the building, its suitability for the purpose in view; its external monumental appearance was at this time a matter of secondary importance. In temples, on the other hand, the public was most interested in what went on outside, in the temple court, and the monumental appearance of the central building was never forgotten. The exterior lines of an early Christian basilica were in consequence as different as can be well imagined from those of a Pagan temple. Let us look at one of our Gerasene basilicas as it must be reconstructed, first from north to south and then from east to west. In the centre of the north-south line is a flat gabled roof over the nave which is carried on walls pierced by rows of clerestory windows and resting on arcades on piers or columns.[1] On the either side are the sloping roofs of the aisles, starting below the clerestory windows; beyond these, again north and south respectively, there are chapels or lateral narthexes. The same stepped effect is produced at the east end by the projection of the apse with its semi-dome and at the west end by the sloping roof of the east alley of the atrium.[1] In place of the simple lines of the uni-celular temple we see a group of stepped masses balanced against each other, and each representing an area which played a definite and distinct part in the ritual of the day. The new structure has evidently been planned from the inside outwards, not primarily to produce a particular external effect, but to provide for the needs of a ritual; the facade and the west towers which are found in North Syria and which counted for so much later in Europe have not yet come into being, and the external beauty of these churches did not lie in any carved decoration, of this there is hardly a trace apart from a few shell-headed niches taken, like columns and caps, from earlier buildings; it lay solely in the grouping and coherency of the different masses we have described. Upon the interior, on the other hand, these builders lavished all the wealth of decoration at their command. Little of this has survived, but our excavations enable us to trace the internal disposition in detail. The floor of the nave and aisles where the congregation stood was paved with brilliantly coloured mosaic patterns which are still of absorbing interest, mutilated as they mostly are. A low stone screen separated the congregation from the sanctuary; from the south side of this screen an ambo or pulpit projected into the nave for the reading of the scriptures; on the north side was a table for the prepartion of the elements; round the wall of the apse were tiers of seats for the priests and deacons, with a raised seat in the middle for the bishop; in front of them was the altar with a reliquary built under it. This seems to have been the invariable arrangement in Gerasa, though these features could not all be traced in every church we excavated.

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[1] Parenthetically we may observe that the evidence from Gerasa lends no colour to the theory that the use of piers instead of columns is a peculiarly Syrian trait—columned arcades are the commoner at Gerasa, probably because there were so many columns ready to hand.

Such were the buildings, and it is not difficult now to understand why so much less of them is left above ground than is left of the temples. The walls of the apses carried a semi-dome of masonry; they were therefore solidly built and have largely survived. The other walls carried only timber roofs; with one exception they were of poor construction, the fact that they were concealed by plaster or revetting having no doubt encouraged jerry-building; they were further weakened by the numerous windows with which they were pierced; many of them were erected very rapidly, as we can tell from the dates of their construction; and they formed part of a complicated system of balanced masses. It is small wonder that so much more remains of the older and more rudimentary structures.

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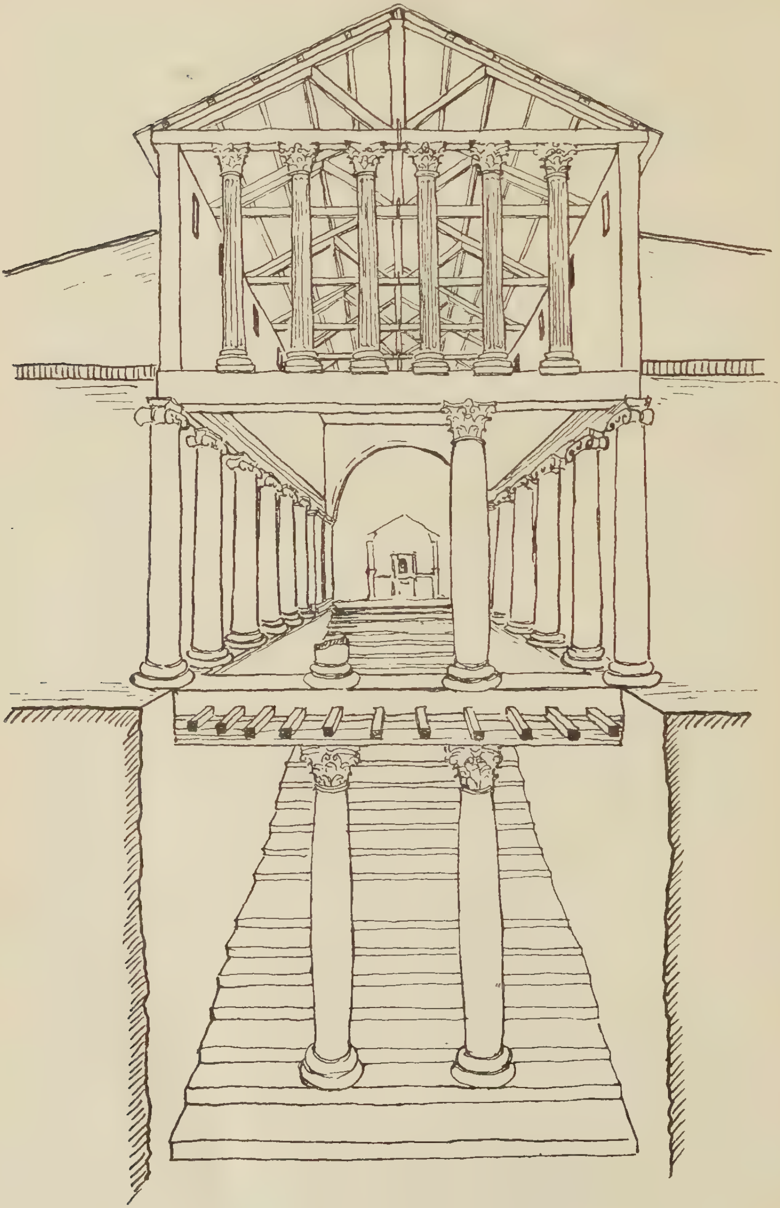
[1] Similar conditions produced a similar effect at Ravenna (see Alois Riegl *Spät-römische Kunst-Industrie*, 1927, *pp*. 699).

We append brief notes on all the buildings excavated during the past two seasons, arranged roughly in topographical order. With a single exception all the larger churches are basilicas in plan, and it will be observed that more than half of them are precisely dated. The inscriptions to which we owe this knowledge usually give the indiction as well as the year according to the city era, which dated from 63 B.C.; in the latest inscription, which is of the year 610, the Latin month-name September occurs. Elsewhere only the Macedonian month-names are found. It will be seen that there was a tremendous outburst of building activity in the reign of Justinian, but there is no evidence of new construction after the first decade of the seventh century. Christianity then fell on evil days. At some date, we cannot fix precisely, nearly all the mosaics were mutilated, just like the carvings in the monastery excavated by Mr. Quibell at Saqqara; most of the many doors were blocked, and the few left open were reduced in size like the door leading into the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The mosaics were very badly repaired, some of the structures indifferently restored, and in many cases a seat was built alongside the walls of the aisles. We found several coins of the eighth century, but nothing that was certainly later, so we may assume that the growing insecurity of the country led to the practical abandonment of the site shortly after this period.

A. The Fountain Court complex.

This group of buildings stretches for 150 yards from east to west parallel to the sanctuary of Artemis; it falls into five main divisions, three of which were excavated in 1928, and two, those at the east end, in 1929.

(1). At the east end a grand flight of 38 steps led from the main street to a platform in front of the east wall of what was probably the "cathedral" of Gerasa. The flight of steps, which formed a Christian pendant to the Propylaea of Artemis, was roofed over (*see* reconstruction, p. 36), and at the top of the flight was a shrine with



JERASH: RE-CONSTRUCTION OF STAIRS.

the names, Holy Mary, Michael and Gabriel, painted on it. On either side of this shrine passages led along the east wall of the church through doorways to other passages which ran along the north and south walls of the church.

(2). The "cathedral" was in plan a basilica, with a shallow apse and 12 columns on each side of the nave carrying moulded stone architraves. There were three doors at the west end and three in each aisle. The passages outside the aisles on which the side doors opened were also roofed, and the eastern portions of these passages, which were provided with seats, were probably used as narthexes. The interior of the church was disfigured by later constructions, and had suffered still more from more recent spoliation. The masonry was far the best we found, and the church belongs, we think, to the 4th century. A memorial chapel, once containing fine mosaics, with an independent court, was built against the west end of the south wall.

(3). What we called the Fountain Court was on the same level as the "cathedral," and served as an atrium to it. There was a fountain in the middle and covered colonnades on three sides. A flight of thirteen steps on the north side led towards the temple of Artemis through a doorway erected in the 1st century, and the court was probably levelled in the classical period, though the present paving is not earlier than the 4th century. The west side of the court is filled by the apse of a second large church, which is dedicated to S. Theodore, and two long flights of steps, which lead up to the level of S. Theodore's, some 18 feet above the floor of the Fountain Court.

(4). S. Theodore's was built in 494 to 496 A.D., according to an inscription which originally stood inside the church above the west door. In plan it is a basilica with seven columns on each side of the nave, carrying stone arches. Traces of the altar, the chancel screen, and the ambo connected with the south side of the screen remain. The church had lateral passages north and south like the "cathedral," doors at the east end of each aisle, a memorial chapel on the north side(29 on plan, facing p.16 *Q. S.*, Jan., 1929, with a fine mosaic floor, and a group of buildings on the south side, the most interesting of which is a baptistry.

(5). West of S. Theodore's is a second atrium built by Bishop Aeneas according to an inscription of the same character as the inscription of the church. Most of the rooms round the atrium were paved with mosaic of no great interest, but one chapel (No. 3), like S. Theodore's and the "cathedral," was paved with stone and marble slabs.

B. S. John the Baptist's Church and its Parecclesia.

This group of churches lies about 100 yards west of the atrium of S. Theodore's. It consists of a central church with a parecclesion on each side, all three opening, each with three doors, on a long, common atrium.

(1). The central church was dedicated to S. John the Baptist by one Theodore in 531 A.D. in the bishopric of Paul. The ground plan of the walls is rather like that of the cathedral at Bostra—a circle inscribed in a square with an apse in each corner and a long apse at the east end, but so far as we can judge the roof was treated on a cruciform plan, with a central lantern carried on four columns, two of which are still standing. The floor was originally paved with very brilliant mosaics; the square in the middle under the lantern was surrounded by a border of frets shown in perspective, alternating with pictures of the months and seasons, inside which were the inscription and one of the popular trailing vine patterns; on the north side of the church were topographical pictures of Alexandria, the Pharos and other places in Egypt, on the south side pictures of Memphis and other places with some of the usual Nilotic landscapes, and a third picture of the same type seems to have decorated the west side, but it has almost wholly perished; in the four apses in the corners were pictures of a fantastic candelabrum with an elaborate acanthus scroll border.

(2). The parecclesion to the south of this was dedicated to S. George and was finished in 529 A.D. In plan it was a basilica, with piers, much reconstructed, in place of the more usual columns. a door with a porch on the south side, and two doors on the north leading into S. John's. The seats at the end of the rather deep apse were well preserved, but did not quite fit the curve of the apse and had perhaps been cut originally for the apse of S. John's. Two stone reliquaries were lying about, and there were traces of an ambo in the position usual in Gerasa. The floor had been covered with a fine mosaic, but all the pictures with which the panels in the nave were once filled had been mutilated ; there was a peacock in a niche in the north aisle and remains of a vine pattern in the south aisle.

(3) The north parecclesion was dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damianus and finished in 532 A.D., Paul being still bishop. In plan a basilica with piers exactly like S. George's, except that it had a long chamber on the north side in which a bath had been constructed ; two doors in the south aisle connected it with S. John's. The mosaics in the nave and aisles had suffered somewhat from weather, but here almost alone was there no trace of wilful mutilation. The inscription, in the usual place in front of the chancel rail, was flanked by portraits of the founder and his wife, and the rest of the nave was divided geometrically into a multitude of panels filled with decorative patterns pictures of animals, birds and so forth. The presence of the bath already mentioned and the absence of the usual sanctuary fittings suggest that the church may have been converted to some secular use, and that this is why the mosaics escaped destruction.

(4) Between the apse of S. John's and that of S. Cosmas there is a second baptistery with a flight of steps leading to a street at the east of this group of churches.

C.—The Church of Bishop Genesius.

This church lies about 60 yards west of the atrium in front of S. John's, and a mosaic inscription in the north aisle bears a date—610 A.D., the latest date yet found. It was a basilica with a single apse at the east end, tiers of seats, altar sockets, an ambo in the usual place and a memorial chapel against the west end of the south aisle; columns, not piers, divided the nave from the aisles. Though so late in date it had been drastically restored before it was finally abandoned. It has not been completely excavated.

D.—The Synagogue Church.

This church lies on very high ground north of the last group and immediately west of the north half of the court of the temple of Artemis. In the 5th century, possibly earlier, there was a synagogue on this site, with an atrium at the east end and a portico paved with mosaics representing the story of the Flood, which led into a building which appears to have contained a nave and two aisles like the ordinary Christian basilica; in the north aisle there was a Hebrew inscription in mosaics, unfortunately not dated, and there had been raised seats against the north wall. At the west end in the direction of Jerusalem there were the foundations of a projecting chamber where the ark may have been kept.

In the reign of Justinian a church was built on the ruins of this synagogue. A doorway was opened in the middle of the west wall where the ark had been, and at the east end the level was slightly raised and an apse built over the Flood mosaics, destroying much of the picture; doors at the east end of the aisles, as in S. Theodore's, led into the church from the east atrium. Traces of the sockets of the ciborium above the altar, of the prothesis table and the ambo were found. The floor of the nave had been covered with mosaics which reproduced almost exactly in plan the mosaics in S. Cosmas; the floor was much damaged, but among the few letters we could read on the inscription was a date equivalent to 530 A.D.

E.—SS. Peter and Paul's and the Mortuary Church.

This group of churches lies on high ground south of the road which leads from the south Tetrapylon to the West Gate.

(1) was built by a bishop, Anastasius, whose name occurs on three inscriptions; the dedication is given, but not the date, which may be about 540 A.D. It is

a basilica with three apses at the east end and seven columns on each side of the nave. The seats round the central apse are well preserved, and there is a stone reliquary with three cavities in it still in position where the altar must have stood; two of the chancel screen posts with a stone panel between them were found in position in the south aisle and remains of the ambo. There was a chapel of the usual type built against the west end of the north aisle. Though neither the masonry nor the internal stone fittings were particularly good, the mosaics in the floor of the nave were second in interest only to those in S. John's; in the middle of the nave was another topographical picture with the names Pharos, Alexandria and Memphis, and views of the last two.

(2) A few yards to the south-west of the last-named church is a Mortuary Chapel, partly cut out of the rock and giving access to an extensive cave. This church or chapel had a single chamber, ending in an apse with the usual seats built round it, the foundations of a chancel screen, and perhaps an ambo; at the west end there was a broad raised bench with a built cushion in the middle, and there were seats along the walls. The mosaics were much destroyed, but had been good, and contained an inscription to the effect that they were put up by an unnamed person to his equally unnamed parents.

F.—The Propylaea Court Church.

All the churches previously mentioned lie on the west of the main street of Gerasa; this church is on the east exactly opposite to the Propylaea of the Artemis temple. It is actually built in what was a double forecourt built in the second century to lead to the temple. This forecourt consisted of two halls; the west hall, which opened on the main street, was an isosceles trapezium in shape and was converted into an atrium by the Christians. On the north side of this atrium an exedra was very simply changed into a circular chamber and paved with a most beautiful pattern mosaic in the year 565 A.D; the chamber is described as a Diaconia, which was perhaps an office from which the deacon dispensed charity. The second hall was a long room with columns on either side and a triple gateway leading to a bridge which crossed the river; the gate was blocked and an apse constructed in its place out of fragments of the classical building, and the hall was turned into a basilica.

G.—The Church of Procopius.

This church, excavated in 1928, stands across the river in the south-east corner of the town, near the modern village. It was built by a certain Procopius with the help of some others in 525 A.D., when Paul was already bishop, but we do not know to whom it was dedicated. It was a basilica with three apses at the east and and six columns on pedestals on either side of the naive. The north apse was partly cut out of the rock; the atrium, partly on the other hand, which must have been on an artificial platform, has disappeared. The seats round the apse were of careful workmanship, the screen was made of well carved panels, and the mosaics, though entirely destroyed in the nave and grievously mutilated elsewhere, showed a fine variety of patterns. The usual memorial chapel was built against the north aisle and paved with mosaics. The comparative superiority of the work here may be due to the date of its construction before the tremendous rush of building in Justinian's reign.

EXCAVATION AT THE MONASTERY OF ST. EUTHYMIUS, 1929.

BY REV. D. J. CHITTY.[1]

WORK at Khan el-Ahmar was resumed on July 11th, 1929. At first work was concentrated on clearing the outer face of the east wall, of the Church, to the north of the rectangular retaining wall of the central apse, and along its east side. On the 16th it was possible to set men free for work on the west Front of the Church. On the 17th enough of the outer face of the east wall was clear, to turn to the emptying of the vaulted chamber under the prothesis, through the small door we had discovered in the east wall. This was completed by the 20th. On the 19th it was possible to turn two men on to the clearing of a small chamber, opening on to the South Aisle of the Church. And when this was done, the same men were turned, on the 20th, to clearing another sacristy north of the Church, entered down two steps from the prothesis. At the end of the 20th the threshold of the door into the central vault, at the west front of the Church, had been cleared, and the edge of a mosaic floor revealed inside. On the same day it was possible to set two workmen to begin on the wall outside a threshold north-east of the Tomb block, where we hoped to find a staircase leading down from this threshold to the Tomb.

The greater part of the central vault was cleared by July 14th, it being only necessary then to leave two men to clear the floor. Meanwhile most of our work was concentrated on the work north of the Tomb block, where a staircase appeared, more or less as I had expected. By the 27th we had cleared a court at its foot, and a passage leading westwards bounded by a wall on north and south and west, with a door (which we did not open out) on the north, and a door to the south at the west end. South of the southern wall we came upon the roof of the staircase leading down (from west to east) to the Tomb. By the evening of the 29th the way was opened, and the staircase was itself clear. We now kept some men working south from the head of this east staircase, and turned others to clear the cistern-head between the Church and the Tomb block, immediately west of the Court which we cleared last year. This work was in the main finished on August 5th, a once-vaulted corridor being revealed running along the western side of the Tomb block, with a door on its east side into a small Church above the Tomb Chamber (this Church we have not had means to excavate), and terminated by a staircase running southward, then westward (where it is broken down), which clearly was the main means of access from the platform which once formed the main approach to the big Church, down to the Tomb.

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[1] See *Q. S.* July, 1928, *pp.* 167-178.

August 5th-8th were occupied in cleaning up above, in clearing out the Tomb chamber, and in lifting part of the floor of the Tomb chamber and examining underneath. Also a small vault of later date running along the east side of the Tomb block was cleared and examined. Work for the most part stopped on the 8th, on which day skeletons were uncovered under the Tomb chamber. We returned to Jerusalem on the 10th, leaving a guard and blocking the door of the Tomb chamber. On the 17th we returned with our foreman to examine the interments more closely, then had them closed in, and the hole blocked up to the original floor level.

The Barrel-vaulted Chamber under the Prothesis of the big Upper Chamber.—This was clearly built before the Upper Church, and has many peculiarities and evidences of different dates in its construction. It had apparently no real connection with the rest of the north vault, its floor being on a lower level, bounded on the west by a wall and not by steps ; its centre line different, though almost or quite parallel (so that the north wall of the Upper Church is built wholly above the curve of the vault, whose inner face on the north side runs a few inches north of the outer face of the wall above) ; and the Chamber being clearly in origin older than, and independent of, the Upper Church. The south and lower west walls are of good masonry, well faced, and appear to be the oldest part of the Chamber. Then a north wall was built, and the vault itself was erected. At the same time the whole was lined, up to the level of the floor of the rest of the north vault, with a thick lining of grey cement supported on rough stones and curved at the corners. As the north wall is unfaced it seems that it was built on purpose to support this lining, while the south and west walls had been built independently. The nature of the east wall at this period is unknown. The whole may have served for a cistern. Or one might be tempted to ask whether it was somehow arranged as a Baptistry.

Presumably when the Upper Church was built, the eastern side of the Chamber was replaced by the present east wall of the Church. This on its inner side was built to block the spaces left by the vault and the cement. The vault and the cement can be seen passing into the thickness of the wall, and where the cement has fallen away a gap is left (up to the level of the floor of the rest of the north vault), which the wall does not fill.

A small square aperture was made through this wall. This was apparently enlarged by the removal of a course of stones from the floor of its passage. On the resultant floor level we found a Umayyad coin. The inner face of the east wall was plastered, but the corners were left square, and not rounded. The threshold of the aperture continued at least two feet above the floor level of the chamber inside. In relation to the aperture, two low partition walls were built across the chamber from east to west, leaving a narrow passage in the middle, and giving the whole chamber the appearance of an enlarged tomb chamber with two tomb troughs. In the northern of these troughs we found the greater part of three skeletons, but not in order, and with no skulls (but one jaw-bone). One of the bodies was that of an old man, with a remarkably square jaw, and not very big. One was of a young man of about twenty-one, not very tall, with a fairly small thigh, but a vast hip. The third was almost certainly that of a woman.

There were no bones in the southern trough. It is to be noted that on the roof of the vault there were crosses smoked on the north side. There were no such crosses on the south.

The west side of the chamber was also blocked at, or after, the building of the upper Church. This wall, which is only partly remaining, was not in the same line as the old, lower, west wall. At the northern end it fits with it, but overhangs it more and more as we go south, having been, in fact, laid in part directly on the cement lining which has now largely fallen away.

The Sacristy south of the Church.—This contained a cupboard in its north wall on each side of the door into the Church, and another couch thickly plastered over on its west side. Its walls seem to be outside walls, but a complete excavation of the south side of the Church is needed. Further east we were excavating to find the real thickness of the south wall of the Church, when we came upon fragments of fresco on what we had taken to be its outer face, and then on a mosaic floor, with a six-pointed star pattern as centrepiece, in large tesserae. This chamber had no door into the Church, and its north wall was clearly built later than the wall of the Church, whose thickness it increased by one stone's thickness. It was later also than the buttress at the south-east corner of the Church, which now proved to have had a more or less square appearance, coming to an end on the south side, where the east wall of the chamber came against its western face, just as we already knew it to come to an end on the east side of the Church.

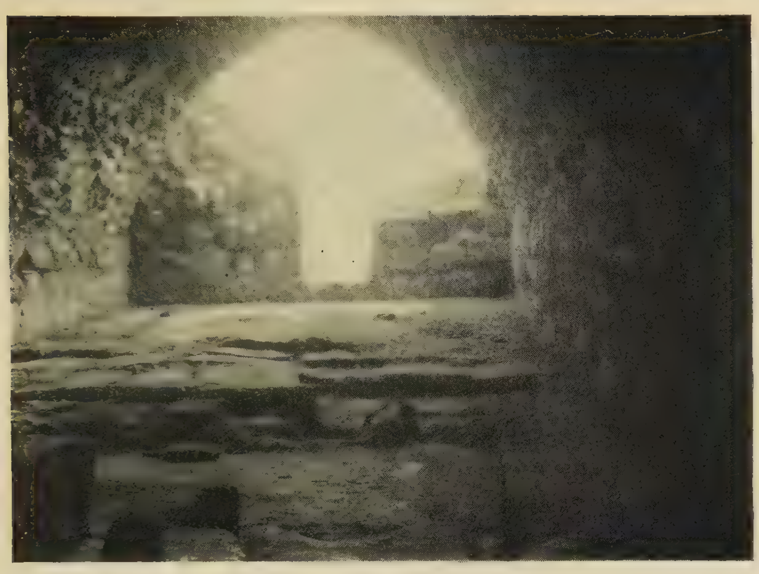
Both these chambers imply of necessity further chambers underneath them, now completely buried. Also their connection with the very ruinous buildings to be seen slightly further to the south, and the nature of these buildings needs to be revealed by further excavation.

The Sacristy north of the Church contained along its southern side a peculiar stone bend over two or three pigeon-holes, and otherwise nothing of special interest.

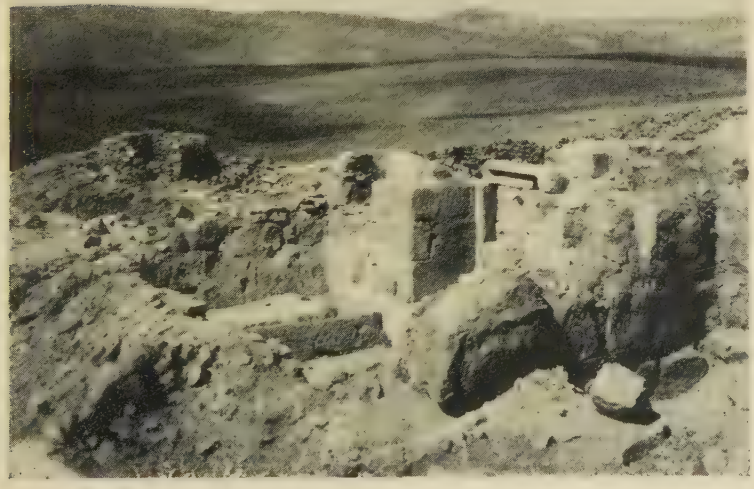
At the *West Front of the Church* we found a series of cross-vaults, once extending for at least two bays to the west, and also extending north of the north wall of the Church, where one bay remains more or less intact. These clearly supported a platform which formed the approach to the big Upper Church. But our work here was more of the nature of a large sounding, our primary object being the excavation of the central vault under the Church. A complete clearing of the cross-vaults is very desirable.

The floor of the *Central Vault* under the Church was on three different levels. The highest, just inside the door, was floored with large white mosaic, edged against the wall with a single row of red tesserae laid square (the rest of the floor being laid diamond-wise).

The second level was a flagged floor (once covered with small stones and a plaster floor), apparently once bounded to the west by a wall with a threshold in it, and to the east by a partition,



1.—MONASTERY OF ST. EUTHYMIUS. CENTRAL VAULT LOOKING WEST. IN FOREGROUND NORTH EAST CORNER OF LOWER MOSAIC LEVEL. NARTHEX OF ORIGINAL CHURCH (?).



2.—SACRISTY SOUTH OF CHURCH.

apparently of rather rough stones plastered over, with a step advanced eastwards in the middle. The third level, which extended to the end of the vault, was floored with plain mosaics, now much broken, laid diamond-wise with a border of two or three lines laid square. This border conforms to the outline of the stone partition on its west side, and of the stone step or bench against the north wall. This latter is not parallel to the north wall. The partition we have mentioned, and the foundations of wall further west, are at right angles with it, not with the north wall. We suggest that here we have evidence of the original small Church built by St. Euthymius, the stone step being the foundation of its north wall, the flagged floor being its narthex, the wall west of it the west wall of the Church, and the stone partition that between the narthex and the body of the Church. The whole was oriented slightly differently from the later building (but apparently in the same manner as the old south and west walls of the vault under the Prothesis). When, after the saint's death, the larger new Church was built above, the walls of the smaller Church were, it would seem, destroyed, and its floor and foundations incorporated in the Refectory in the vault under the new Church. But we must confess that conjecture enters largely into this explanation of the phenomena discovered.

NOTE ON THE ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION AT THE SYNAGOGUE AT GERASA

By E. L. Sukenik.

I venture to suggest a few remarks on Dr. Cowley's reading of the inscription at the synagogue at Gerasa, published in the Q. St., 1929, p. 218.

The first word of the third line should be read סלה. The letter ס is similar to the ס in the word יוסה in the fourth line. Even in the Greek inscription we find the words ΑΜΗΝ ϹЄΛΑ (pl. III. 5). The formula of this benediction is in the main based puon Psalm cxxv, 5; we find it—with slight changes—ininscriptions in Galilean synagogues, such as 'Alma and Kefr Bir'im, or on Jewish tomb-stones and catacombs in Palestine and Italy. כלה in the sense of "All of it," very difficult from the grammatical point of view, is unintelligible here, the inscription beginning, as it does, with the words שלום על כל ישראל "Peace be upon *all* Israel".

It is difficult to accept the view that the word בר is in our case an abbreviation of בן רבי. We do not find this abbreviation in inscriptions of that period. It is undoubtedly the Aramaic word בר "son". Probably the Hebrew sentence beginning the inscription made Dr. Cowley feel that it was written in pure Hebrew excluding such an Aramaic word as בר. But despite the initial phrase which gives the benediction in its original language, the inscription as a whole is to be considered Aramaic. The form of the names יוסה and יודן is also Aramaic instead of Hebrew יוסף, יהודה.

The name יודן, Yudan, is written וידן (*see* pl. V.). It is possible that this is due only to a mistake of the mosaicist. But I should like to point out that we should expect a conjunction before the last name of the list, ויודן *and* Yudan, as it is found in an inscription at Beit Alpha. If it is so, then the ו of יודן was dropped.

The inscription should be read therefore as follows :

שלום על כל
ישראל אמן אמן
סלה פינחס בר
ברוך יוסה בר
שמואל וי(ו)דן בר חזקיו

Peace be upon all
Israel, amen, amen,
Selah. Phinehas son of
Baruch, Jose son of
Samuel, and Yudan son of Hezekiah.

Jerusalem,
6th November, 1929.

REVIEWS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS AND FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

The Rosetta Stone in the British Museum. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge.
London : Religious Tract Society. 1929. 12s. 6d. net.

The R.T.S. have here produced, under the authorship of one of the greatest authorities on the subject, an exhaustive popular account of this world-famous stone. The Rosetta Stone was discovered in August, 1799, by members of Napoleon the Great's expedition, a few miles north of the little town of Rashîd (Europeanised "Rosetta"), 30 miles east of Alexandria. Though the exact details are obscure, the importance of the discovery was at once recognised, and Napoleon himself regarded the stone with the keenest interest. Under the treaty of capitulation, the Rosetta Stone was surrendered to the British, and was dispatched to England at the end of 1801.

The excitement caused in antiquararian circles by its arrival is here described.

The Stone is a slab of black basalt, 3 feet 9 inches long by 2 feet 4½ inches wide and 11 inches thick. It was once 1½ to 2 feet longer, but much of its upper third—once covered by hieroglyphics—has been broken away many centuries ago.

The inscription upon its surface, which is dated 196 B.C., is bilingual, in Greek and in two forms of Egyptian writing. It summarizes the benefactions which Ptolemy V bestowed upon the priesthood and upon the soldiers, sailors and civilians of Egypt, and orders an augmentation of the honours to be paid to the king as a token of their gratitude. But this record has an importance far greater than its value as an historical document. As is fully described in Chapter VI, it was this inscription which provided long sought-for key to the Hieroglyphics, chiefly through the labours of Thomas Young and Jean François Champollion, whose portraits adorn these pages.

The volume contains the original Greek text of the decree printed in uncial, with an English translation, a transliteration of the Demotic test with an English translation, a running translation of the hieroglyphic text, and, lastly, a copy of the hieroglyphic text, printed in hieroglyphic type, and accompaned by a transliteration, and a word for word translation. It will be seen that the work should be useful to the general reader and to the beginner in the reading of hieroglyphics. It would be a valuable addition to any library. Its excellent printing and general get-up, and its twenty-three beautiful plates, all reflect great credit on both the Author and on the Publishers. It is a welcome addition to the Fund's own library.

E. W. G. M.

Flowers and Trees of Palestine. By Auguste A. Temple. London: S.P.C.K. 1929. 6s.

This volume is a reprint of the 1907 edition, but is brought out in a more modern form and in "pocket" size. It, too, is made additionally attractive by 30 beautifully coloured illustrations by Miss K. Marian Reynolds. For any one in any degree interested in botany this volume provides a most useful companion for travel in Palestine. Most observant tourists in that land desire to know more of the countless brilliant flowers which carpet the ground in the spring. They will here get all the information they want for immediate reference.

There may be others who desire samples only of the more showy of the common flowers of Palestine, and to such the booklets *Flowers of the Holy Land*, by Miss K. M. Reynolds, will greatly appeal. Number 3 of the series has recently been issued, containing new beautifully coloured plates with descriptive letterpress. These booklets are issued at 2s. each, and may be obtained from Miss Reynolds, 8, Darnley Road, Notting Hill, W.11.

W. G. M.

THE HITTITE EMPIRE, *being a Survey of the History, Geography, and Monuments of Hittite Asia Minor and Syria.* By John Garstang, M.A., B.Litt., D.Sc. Constable & Co., 1929. 25s. net.

Twenty years have passed since Prof. Garstang published in his *Land of the Hittites* an admirable *résumé* of the history of the Hittites, based upon the few texts that had then been published, together with an admirable account of the archæology with numerous illustrations. This readable, indeed, fascinating account of a long forgotten civilisation found friends everywhere, and kept its value even when, in course of time, there was much more to be said on Hittite history and culture. The volume has now been completely remodelled, and the new work, while retaining some of the old, very properly receives a new title. Hittite history, which would require a volume in itself, is here sketched briefly. Hittite laws, religious literature and other records fall outside the scope of the volume, and as a matter of fact, bristle with too many difficult and technical points to find a place in a popular book. Geographical questions are discussed, and their influence upon the history considered, but the chief value of the new book undoubtedly lies in the fine account of the monuments, their details, the problems of influence which they bring, and their significance for the interpretation of the old Hittite religion.

While, on the one hand, Prof. Garstang has by no means reproduced all the illustrations he gave in his former volume—which must still be consulted on a number of points, on the other, he has added much that is new. It is safe to say that while the old volume is not to be regarded as entirely superseded, the new will long continue to be the most convenient and helpful book on the subject; and that it would be difficult to find a more attractive introduction to the new field, that is being opened out through the royal Hittite libraries from the ruins near Boghaz-Keui. A book of over 370 pages, with 15 maps and plans, 53 plates, 45 illustrations in the text, and complete bibliography, indexes, and other apparatus—Prof. Garstang is to be congratulated upon a work which the publishers have been spirited enough to publish at what, in the circumstances, is a relatively small figure.

The recovery of the Hittite empire and all it meant is one of the most romantic achievements of modern Oriental research—which, too, has its victories, and it is interesting to look back and contrast the doubt with which scholars often received early speculations about the mysterious Hittites with the extent of our present-day knowledge. The part taken by the venerable Assyriologist, Prof. Sayce, in insisting upon the importance of the references to the Hittites is well-known, and the course of events in their rediscovery has much to suggest to those who feel that the past scepticism was misplaced. It is, therefore, of the grestest interest to observe what writers of a few decades ago actually made of the Hittites (on the basis of the biblical and classical references) and what is now known. For while, on the one hand, those who were sceptically inclined were illogical and unjustified only if and when they treated such references as valueless, modern research has shown that from those references alone it would have been impossible to form any accurate idea of this ancient people. As is so often the case, archæology and the monuments are placing old questions on quite a new footing, and although the Hittites of Asia Minor now stand out in the clear light of ancient history, it is necessary to remember that as regards the translation and interpretation of the tablets there is much that is extremely obscure. Good work is being done in this direction—would that Hittite research would attract young students in this country!—but it is not to be forgotten that it is a field of study only recently opened up, and that only the surface of things has as yet been scraped.

Prof. Garstang, as already mentioned, has left on one side Hittite history, and also much that turns upon the decipherment and translation of the texts. But as regards the monuments many important questions arise which can be handled apart from the intricate linguistic problems. Take, for example, the well-known sculptures at Iasily Kaya, the procession of the deities, the employment of symbols or emblems—some intelligible, like the double eagle, others that elude all reasonable explanation. One has only to read Prof. Garstang's lucid descriptions to realise that a world of religious belief lies behind this and other scenes, and that we have in these monuments abundant evidence for the religion of over thirty centuries ago. It is an age approximately that to which the history-writers of Israel ascribed the founder of Israelite religion and law; an age when the Hittites and Egyptians were brought together and Palestine, as we read in the Amarna Letters, lay between the two rivals. Readers will also note the persistence and continuity of the old religion, the points of contact between coins and other monuments of the early Christian era, and the Hittite remains of ten or fifteen centuries previously. The Hittite monuments, taken along with the archæological remains of the Near East, combine to give us an extraordinarily realistic idea of the background of life and thought upon which two of the three great Semitic monotheisms grew up, and many classes of readers will find much that is informing and suggestive in *The Hittite Empire*.

S. A. C.

Among recent articles and publications may be mentioned a valuable study of the map-mosaic of Medaba, with special reference to Jerusalem, by Dr. Peter Thomsen, in the *Z. D. P. V.*, lii. (1929), pp. 148-174, 192-219. In the same journal Dr. Kurt Galling discusses Sir Flinders Petrie's *Gerar* (pp. 242 sqq). He dissents from the dates, which he places rather lower. The so-called votive altars, of the type found by Macalister at Gezer (Vol. II, p. 442) he associates with Cyprus: but considers them earlier than Macalister's date (middle of the VIth cent.). He is led to the general conclusion that the excavations at Gerar have opened up afresh the question of western influences upon Palestine. With the earlier "Philistine" pottery at one end, the Dionysus-Yahu coin (from Gaza ?) at the other, the evidence suggests a definite western influence on the Philistine coast in the VIIth cent. I may add that he follows Prof. Alt's explanations of two of the inscribed objects found by Petrie at Gerar (*Z. A. T. W.*, lii., 249 sq.). The name read as "(to) *r-y-l-k*" on a jar handle is tentatively supposed to be Philistine. But a glance at the plate (Tafel *12*, 12) clearly shows that it is merely a badly written "to *h-m-l-k*," *i.e.*, the familiar "to the king"—a reading with which Dr. Cowley agrees. The second name, which I tentatively interpreted as "Darius" (*Q. S.*, 1928. p. 211), is also interpreted similarly and independently by Prof. Perles; but Dr. Galling thinks that it was found in too early a stratum for the Persian name, and D-r-y-m-sh is accordingly supposed to be analogous to *ikausu*, the Assyrian spelling of the Philistine name, which is known in Hebrew as Achish. Petrie's *Gerar* is also reviewed by Prof. Max Löhr in the *Orientalist. Literaturzeitung* for May. He, for his part, suggests the reading Didymus, in which case the seal does not belong to the stratum which Prof. Petrie dated *c.* 800 B.C., but will have sunk down from a higher and Greek level. In the circumstances I would still tentatively maintain my "Darius."

Prof. Albright (*Archiv fur Orientforschung*, V. 150 sqq.) draws attention to the Hebrew fragment found at Tell-el-Hesy by Bliss and published by him in *A Mound of Many Cities*, p. 88. The stratum (City iv.) can be dated to the XIIIth cent.—it comes before Philistine pottery and Early Iron. The reading *b-l-ʿ* proposed by Sayce, is the only possible one, but the strange form of the *beth* resembles that on the Sinaitic inscriptions, and is a curious modification of it. It comes between the Sinai alphabet of about the XIXth-XVIIIth cent. and the oldest Byblus forms (the Ahiram inscriptions), which he tentatively places about 1100 B.C.

Ferris T. Stephens produces arguments for the view that the early Semites of Cappadocia, whose business tablets now arouse so much interest, were acquainted with the use of the alphabet (*Journal of the Anerican Oriental Society*) June, 1929, pp. 122 sqq.). He points to the use of word-dividers, the references to the *sibru*, or scribe, the shortness and simplicity of the syllabary, and the probability that these Semitic merchants were Amorites, and not of Assyrian or Babylonian origin.

The decipherment of the Sinaitic inscriptions is the subject of an article (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, November, pp. 200-218) by Dr. A. E. Cowley, to whom, with Dr. A. H. Gardiner, the first steps in the identification of the signs were due. The new photographs (see the article in the *Q.S.*, January, 1929) have prompted a fresh examination: and, with Gardiner's reading בעלת as a starting point ("our one solid piece of evidence"), a number of new suggestions and provisional translations are attempted. A reference is found to *N-g-b-n*, and one thinks of the Negeb, the name is not unexpected, but instead of the ordinary explanation of this geographical term (the *dry* district) for which the evidence is of the weakest, Cowley, on the strength of an Arabic root, translates the word "noble, freeman." This name was borne by the independent people of the mountains south of Palestine, and "Horite" is possibly a Hebrew translation of it. In later ages the old name *Nagibin* was misunderstood, and "the land of the free-man" became a mere geographical term—the Negeb. He concludes that the writers of the inscriptions were probably from the north of the Sinaitic peninsula (the later Edom); they were employed by Egyptians to work the mines, and struck by the Egyptian inscriptions, they endeavoured to apply the principle of acrophony to their own language. The fish-sign was used not for a *n* (*nūn*), but for *d* (*dāg*): the sign derived from the bowl with a handle was used for *g* (*gullah*, a bowl); that is to say, they adopted Egyptian signs, while giving their values derived from the corresponding words in their own language. "This view differs widely from that of de Rougé, who attempted to derive the Phœnician letters from signs having the same value in Egyptian."

The Sinaitic script is also the subject of an article in *Syria*, vol. ix (1928), pp. 278, sqq., by Charles F. Jean. Its title is, Are the Hyksos the inventors of the Alphabet? This is the view of the Berlin Egyptologist, Sethe (1926), and the arguments on both sides are examined. One objection is that the Hyksos did not work the Sinaitic mines. Moreover, he considers the reading *b-ʿ-l-th* as only probable and not absolute. He attaches more importance to the South Semitic alphabet which, like the Sinaitic, has more letters than the Phœnician. He agrees also that signs *resembling* the Egyptian do not necessarily have the *value* that they have in Egyptian.

A further account is given of the excavations at Byblus, by Maurice Dunand (*Syria*, vol. ix, pp. 173 sqq.). The discoveries include a representation of Adonis attacked by a bear and bewailed by Venus. The temple shown on the coins of Macrinus has, it is believed, perhaps been identified (p. 178). Evidence for the ancient relationship between Byblus and Egypt continues to increase, though after the Xth century there is a break. M. Montet describes some objects from Byblus (vol x, pp.12 sqq.). The hieroglyphic inscriptions of Byblus as a whole are of two classes, (1) those upon objects sent from Egypt in honour of the Baalath, or as presents to the princes, and (2) those written on native objects, by princes who imitated Egyptian usage. Mm. Abel and Barrois give an account of the excavations at Nerab (12 September-6 November) by the French School of Archæology at Jerusalem (ix, 187 sqq ; x. 303 sqq). It is interesting to note the infant burials and the methods of inhumation. M. Barrois observes that although care was taken to provide for the needs of the dead in the Beyond, not the slightest care seems to have been taken to preserve the body. The point is important when one considers the Egyptian practice and the close relations between Egypt and south-west Asia ; for if there was this assurance that the dead enjoyed some sort of existence after death, and it was not necessary to preserve the body, what sort of body were the dead supposed to have ? Among smaller objects was a pentagram on a jar, a sherd with the name Jehoram in Aramaic script, figurines (including a goddess in a shrine). Many of the latter were found mutilated, and apparently not by accident ; it is suggested that the intention was to signify that they formed part of the belongings of the dead and shared his society.

Przeworski writes on deities seated and deities in cars (ix, 273 sqq.) and Maurice Dunand describes some Egyptian objects found at Beirut (ix. 300sq.). A Syrian god on a camel of a not unfamiliar type is discussed by Cumont (x. 30 sqq.) Procopé-Walter deals with the treatment of galloping animals in art (x. 85 sqq.) and the origin of the motifs in Hither Asia. Excavations at Baalbek (9 July-29 September, 1928) are summarised by André Parrot (pp.103-125). It is sad to hear that the safety of the noble ruins is threatened. "Ba'albek sans sa glorieuse colonnade ne sera plus Ba'albek." Happily steps are being taken to avert the calamity.

Dussand publishes, with translation, some 180 Safaite inscriptions collected by Captain Rees of the Royal Air Force in the Syrian Desert (pp. 144 sqq.).

A new Oriental journal has made its appearance, *Archiv Orientalni*, Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague, edited by Dr. Hrozny, with the co-operation of a number of distinguished scholars. Founded by the munificence of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, T. G. Masaryk, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, it will have the good wishes of all who are interested both in the subject and in the fortunes of the young republic. It is published by Geuthner, Paris, and the editor's address is Vorechovka, 285, Praha XVIII. Articles are in English, French or German. R. A. Musil writes in the first number on personal qualities according to the Ruala Bedouins. Pertold discusses Sinhalese ritual and demon worship. Lexa deals with the teaching of Amenemopet, the Egyptian sage. Several articles by the Editor discuss the Hittites, their history, and their relation to the West. One of the most interesting of these considers the references to the Indians and Iranians in the Hittite tablets of the fourteenth century B.C., and the light these texts throw upon the ethnology of Syria and Palestine. Another handles the relations between Hittites and Czechs. Hrozny finds a great Indo-European "front," due to the movements of Indo-European peoples from their home in the north of the Black Sea and the Caspian in the third millennium B.C. There was one far-reaching Hittite *bloc*; and through the Hittites (who kept their archives in Babylonian, Hittite and the Hurrian languages), Babylonian lore was able to reach Greece, and as Jensen, in particular, has argued, leave its traces in the Odyssey. Indeed, Hrozny quotes with approval Gemser's view that the name of Odysseus-Olysseus-Ulixes can be traced back to the Babylonian-Hittite name of the hero of the flood Ul(l)us, or, as Hrozny suggests, Udlus (l=dl), whence the diverse forms of the name of the hero of the Epic. Hrozny's article is followed by A. Salac on Greeks and Hittites. He points out that, accepting the view that the Archaeans are mentioned in Hittite texts in South-West Asia Minor they seem to have come, not from the north, but from the west, from Greece and the islands of the Ægean. He discusses the relations between these Achaeans and the Minoans on archæological lines (with illustrations). Hrozny's view that the Kabeiroi derive their name from the Ḫabiru is accepted (pp.338, 348). Throughout it is easy to see what new lines of enquiry are being opened up by the Hittite tents, and how much they have to offer to those who are interested in the background of the Homeric poems and the part played by Asia Minor as a bridge between east and west.

S. A. C.

Quarterly Statement, April, 1930.]

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

This number of the Quarterly Statement is largely devoted to propaganda, a considerable section being taken up with an account of the origin and the activities of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. As will be seen, it is the desire of the governing bodies of these two societies to make a joint appeal and the article on p. 66 will show how closely interlinked the two societies are, and how, in a sense, any help given to one is an assistance to the other.

It is proposed in the coming autumn to make further progress in excavations at Ophel. Sir Charles Marston has most generously promised £500, and we have £200 in hand. If, however, we are to make an excavation of any real importance, the committee feel we must have a guarantee of £1,000. We accordingly **appeal most urgently** to our supporters to give **special donations** for this work·

Reports that have appeared in the Press on Prof. Garstang's work at the excavation of Jericho give every reason to hope that the new undertaking, which is due to the generosity of Sir Charles Marston, will throw much light upon the political and religious vicissitudes of that city in the middle centuries of the second millennium B.C. It will be especially interesting to see whether the excavation will succeed in fixing definitely the date of the invasion and conquest at the entry of the Israelites under Joshua ; as it has been thought that an earlier conquest is traditionally associated with the Israelite hero. Much attention is being paid just now to the fundamental problems of that period, and, in the October *Bulletin* of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Prof. Albright, writing on new Israelite and pre-Israelite sites, summarizes his conclusions after a spring trip in 1929. He found that there are very few Bronze Age mounds in Ephraim, especially the western slope ; but there was a Middle Bronze occupation followed by a more or less prolonged period of abandonment. Also

Seilun (Shiloh), which has abundant Early Iron age pottery, appears to have been unoccupied in the eleventh century. Similarly et-Tell (Ai) was abandoned in the Late Bronze age, and Prof. Albright observes that Jericho showed no trace of occupation between the early part of the Late Bronze and the end of the second millennium. In fact, there is an absence of Late Bronze ware at certain notable sites whereas it can be found at Megiddo, Taanach, Bethshan, etc., etc. He reaches the conclusion that "Mount Ephraim began to be occupied by a sedentary population in the early second millennium, but that this occupation was interrupted about 1500 B.C., and was not resumed on an extensive scale until about the twelfth century, or a little earlier." No towns of Mount Ephraim appear to be mentioned in the Amarna Letters (*c.* 1400 B.C., or middle of the Late Bronze Age), and Prof. Albright observes that the region "was occupied partly by the so-called Habiru," who were in any case not a settled people, and therefore can be identified with the Hebrews. He adds that Biblical tradition itself points to a relatively early Hebrew settlement in Central Palestine. "It is evidently due to the tendency of official history to harmonize divergent traditions that the account of the Conquest which we now have in Joshua disregards the genuine traditions of an earlier occupation." "If," he says, "the Hebrews attacked and destroyed many of the Canaanite towns of Central Palestine in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C., but did not settle down themselves until the thirteenth and twelfth, the archæological situation would be fully explained."

The British School of Archæology in Jerusalem has, as usual, held a series of "open meetings" in the course of the session, which have been well attended by residents and visitors, and very greatly appreciated. This year's lectures were as follows:—

March 10. *Muslim Pictorial Art*, by Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., Professor of Arabic in the University of London.

March 18. *The Physical Development of Palestine in Relation to the Site of Megiddo and the Programme of the Oriental Institute of Chicago*, by Mr. P. L. O. Guy, Director of the Megiddo Expedition.

March 24. *Prehistoric Research at Athlit*, by Miss D. A. E. Garrod, Research Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge.

March 31. *Excavations at Jerash*, 1929. By the Director of the British School of Archæology.

These lectures were given in the British School's rooms, above the Palestine Government Museum, and were illustrated by lantern slides.

On March 14th, a lecture on the *British School's Excavations at Jerash*, 1928-29, was given before the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, by Professor J. L. Myres, chairman of the council of the school. The University of Manchester has been one of the earliest and most constant supporters of the British School in Jerusalem, and the Manchester Museum has recently received a representative series of duplicate specimens from the school's recent excavations in the Tabgah caves, in Galilee.

The committee are glad to report that the fifth Annual, that for 1927, has now been published and is on sale. It contains Mr. Crowfoot's report of his work at Ophel and the Tyropoeon Valley during the excavating season of 1927. He was assisted by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald, Assistant-Director of the British School of Archæology, who has written the second part of the book dealing with the pottery and smaller finds, while Mr. Crowfoot describes the buildings and levels, analysing the stratification of the site from the earliest times to the Arab Conquest and the Crusading period. The volume contains as frontispiece the Old Gate from the north-west, 22 other plates, and 21 illustrations, there are 131 pages of letterpress and an index.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archæology in Egypt dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

Miss C. M. Finn has kindly presented 500 copies of *Palestine Peasantry : Notes on their Clans, Warfare, Religion and Laws*, being a reprint of the work of her mother, the late Mrs. E. A. Finn who, with Consul Finn lived in Palestine for over seventeen years and devoted much time to a study of the social divisions and conditions of the inhabitants some fifty or more years ago, and argues that the modern Arab Fellahin are descendants of the ancient Canaanites. This interesting little book of 95 pages is on sale at 7*d.* per copy, post free.

Subscribers in the United States are asked kindly to note that subscriptions should be forwarded to the Hon. General Secretary, Prof. M. W. Randall, Graduate Library School, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ills, U.S.A.

Antiques for Sale.—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates, including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

The Committee are glad to report that the *Annual*, 1927, on the Ophel Excavations has been published and is on sale, 135, pp., 22 plates and 21 text illustrations. Price 31*s.* 6*d.* to non-members.

Mr. H. C. Luke's translation and annotation of a 16th century MS., under the title of *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land*, is on sale at 4*s.* bound in cloth, and 2*s.* 6*d.* in paper covers.

The new plan of Jerusalem on a scale of approximately 1 : 5000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5*s.* ; mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9*s.* The latter form is the more convenient, as owing to its size the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

The library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains some duplicate volumes. They may be purchased, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions from :—

	£	s.	d.
Frank Fremlin, Esq.	100	0	0
Capel Morris, Esq.	5	5	0
Miss E. M. Courthope	4	0	0
Mrs. Caulfield	3	0	0
E. Hayward, Esq.	1	1	0

The *Annual Report*, with Accounts and List of Subscriptions for 1929 is issued to Members of the P.E.F. with this number.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements,* 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth is £15 15s. Subscriber's price £14 14s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5 except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Randall, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund (see address on cover).

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Near East and India, January 2, 9, 16. Egypt its traditions and renaissance, by Georges Cattaul.

The Expository Times.

The Antiquaries Journal, January.

Scottish Geographical Magazine.

The Excavation of Armageddon. By Clarence S. Fisher. No. 4 of the Communications of the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

University of Pennsylvania, Museum Bulletin, i, 1, 2.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, January. Exhibition of Egyptian wall paintings, by Ambrose Lansing.

Homiletic Review.

American Journal of Philology.

Jewish Quarterly Review.

Geographical Review (*New York*), January. Teheran & Elburz, by F. G. Clapp ; population and settlement in Eurasia, by A. P. Usher.

Report of the United States National Museum, 1929.

Revue Biblique, January. Tanis, Avaris and Pi-Ramses by Pierre Montet, a new biblical Sinai, by H. Vincent, the German excavations at Ramet el-Khalil, by A. E. Mader ; everyday Ancient Hebrew, by P. Dhorme.

Syria, vol. x., part 3, Tel Ahmar by Thureau-Dangin ; the seventh campaign of the excavation of Byblus (March-June, 1928), by Maurice Dunand : the sarcophagus of an infant found at Beirut by Fr. Cumont, lead sarcophagi from Syria, René Mouterde, the Turkish antiquities of Anatolia by Albert Gabriel ; Syriac inscriptions from Bennawi, J. B. Chabot.

Zeitschrift fur die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft und Kunde des nachbiblischen Judentums, 1929, iv. The prologue, title and finale of Ecclesiasticus by D. De Bruyne ; Yahweh-images by K. Th. Obbink; Is., lxi., 1-3 an Ebed-Yahweh poem, by W. W. Cannon ; full summaries of journals, etc.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, February. Isaiah-Adonis, by K. Galling (numerous important reviews).

Untersuchungen zur Alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas, I. By Benjamin Maisler (Töpelmann, Giessen).

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, lii., 4. The candlestick in Zech. iv., by K. Möhlenbrink ; the gulf of Suez, by Dr. C. Küthmann.

Archiv. für Orientforschung, V. 5-6. (With important reviews, including Dr. Peter Thomsen on Turville-Petre's *Researches in Prehistoric Galilee* ; and full summaries of recent excavations in the Near East.)

Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu. II. Die Sozialen Verhältnisse. By Dr. Joachim Jeremias. (Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1929).

Biblica, October-December. The house of Caiaphas and the church of St. Peter II, Archæological proof of the authenticity of the site.

Litterae Orientalis, January, on the history of ballad singing, by Prof. George Jacob ; catalogues, etc.

Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, ix., 3-4. Additions to the list of prehistoric stations of Palestine and Transjordania, by R. Neuville; conical sun-dial and ikon inscriptions from the Kastellion monastery on Khirbet el-Merd in the Wilderness of Judah, by A. E. Mader, studies in the topography and folklore of Petra, by T. Canaan ; Arabic inscriptions of Gaza, by A. L. Mayer.

Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem , Notes and News; September, 1928-September, 1929.

Al Mashrik. January. The Phœnicians and their neighbours, by Emir M. Chéhab (cont. in February).

La Revue de l' Académie Arabe. Damascus. November-December.

Bible Lands, January. Trees and shrubs of the Bible and the Holy Land.

From Mr. Pilcher : *Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society.*

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson, Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath* already in the Library ; subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of——— to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND AND THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN JERUSALEM.

During the closing weeks of 1929, a small Committee representing the governing bodies of the *P.E.F.* and of the *B.S.A.J.* was engaged in considering what closer có-operation would be desirable between these two societies with a view to mutual assistance and the avoidance of friction and overlapping.

The question of entire amalgamation was thoroughly considered and finally rejected as of very doubtful benefit. Such a step may have to be resorted to should the present suggestions fail, but only—it was unanimously agreed—as a last recourse. The Joint Committee feel that each Society has its special sphere of usefulness and its special appeal to the public. An amalgamation might easily lead to a narrowing of both.

The result of the informal conference was the formation of a Joint Advisory Council, which has now received the recognition of the governing bodies of both Societies. The Constitution and powers of the Council are here set out :—

Joint Advisory Council : P.E.F. and British School.

(1). It is resolved by the Executive Committee of the P.E.F. and the Council of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem that a Joint Advisory Council shall be established of which the members shall be the Chairman, the Honorary Secretary, and the Honorary Treasurer of each Society.

(2). An independent Chairman of the Joint Advisory Council shall be chosen by the Council at its first meeting. He shall hold office for two years and be eligible for re-election.

(3). In case the independent Chairman should for any cause be unable to preside at any meeting of the Joint Advisory Council, another independent Chairman may be chosen by the two Secretaries for the occasion.

(4). In the event of any member of the Joint Advisory Council being unable to attend a meeting, he may select another member of the Governing Body which he represents to act as his deputy.

(5). Invitations to attend meetings of the Joint Advisory Council and agenda papers shall be issued, and minutes of proceedings shall be kept by both the Honorary Secretaries.

(6). The functions of the Joint Advisory Council shall be :—

(*a*) The discussion of matters of common policy, to enable the two Societies effectively to help each other, or to work together ;

(*b*) The recommendation of such measures as may prevent overlapping.

(*c*) The consideration of the wording of joint appeals, when both Societies consider this desirable.

(*d*) Advice regarding the issue and form of joint publications, if and when thought fit by both Societies ;

(*e*) And generally, the recommendation to the Governing Bodies of both Societies of such measures as may, in the opinion of the Joint Advisory Council, tend to ensure effective, harmonious, and economical co-operation over those fields of activity in which the two Societies have a common interest.

(7). The Joint Advisory Council will have no executive functions.

Each governing body of the two Societies concerned remains responsible to the members of its Society for any action which it may deem appropriate. The Joint Advisory Council will in no way interfere with, or limit, the powers and responsibilities of the Governing Bodies of either Society.

(8) The Joint Advisory Council may at any time be dissolved by a resolution of the Governing Body of either Society.

The first and most urgent duty of the Joint Advisory Council is that of propaganda. The annual incomes of the P.E.F. and of the B.S.A.J. are so inadequate as to cripple seriously the fulfilment of the primary objects for which each Society exists. The Joint Advisory Council feel that it is urgently necessary that they should make a joint appeal. The objects of the two Societies so far overlap that help given to either Society is really for the benefit of both. Both Societies exist for the scientific study of Palestine from every point of view for which funds and students are forthcoming. In the past their procedures have differed in detail, and their programmes overlap partially, but the ultimate aims of both are the same. It is therefore hoped that by a joint appeal for wide support and the publication of an agreed statement of the past history, the objects and methods of these two bodies, some misapprehensions may be dispelled and that the undoubtedly large general public who appreciate the importance of further exploration of Palestine, will rally to help the two bodies which were founded for this object. In this way, we hope that British Explorers and Students in Palestine may be enabled to still achieve results worthy of their distinguished record in the field.

We here give an account of the History and past work of the two Societies that the readers of the *Quarterly Statement* may understand both where they differ in their objects and where their work is identical. They will realize how necessary is such a co-operation as is now proposed. The special exploratory work of the older Society will appeal to some, the more distinctively educational work of the British School will appeal to others. But above all, our readers must realize the urgency of the help called for. It is sad that British financial support is so backward when we recall how greatly in the past our nation has been pioneers in matters of Biblical study and of Palestine research.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

This Society was founded in 1865, largely through the efforts of Mr. (later Sir) George Grove and Dean Stanley. The Archbishop of York (Dr. William Thompson), from the outset, took a very lively interest and presided at the preliminary inaugural meeting held on May 12th, in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster, and also at the first public meeting held the following June. Three main principles to be followed by the new Society were laid down at the outset :—

(1) That whatever was undertaken should be carried out on scientific principles.

(2) That the Society as a body should abstain from controversy and

(3) That the Society should not become attached to any religious body, church or creed.

The purpose of the Society is defined as for "investigating the Archæology, Geography, Geology and Natural History of Palestine" predominantly, though by no means exclusively, in relation to Bible Illustration and the diffusion of scientific knowledge along those lines.

The Fund started with high expectations of solving many of those difficulties of topography in Jerusalem and elsewhere in the Holy Land, which had long perplexed Bible students, but it must be admitted that many of them even to-day remain obscure in spite of the great work done. It is no exaggeration to say that we are now conscious of far more archæological problems known to be calling for investigation to-day than there were when the P.E.F. began.

As many of the earlier supporters have passed away and the future of the Society must depend upon the rising generation who may be but dimly aware of the work accomplished during the past sixty-five years, it is proposed to briefly describe here the activities of the Fund. An excellent summary of the work for 1865-1915 by Sir Charles Watson, entitled *Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land* is on sale at the Society's headquarters, and this has been freely drawn upon in what follows. It will be convenient to describe the work under three main headings rather than purely chronologically.

At the time of the foundation of the Society, Captain Wilson (late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, Chairman of the P.E.F.) was engaged upon a survey of Jerusalem and, after a short preliminary reconnaissance of the well-known sites, he returned to the Holy City. Thus, curiously enough, it has happened that while it was in Jerusalem that the work began, it is to Jerusalem the Fund has returned as the field of its latest activities.

I.

WORK IN JERUSALEM.

The first Survey of Jerusalem was commenced by Captain Wilson at the expense of Baroness Burdett Coutts. On the completion of the work the Committee, in 1867 engaged the services, with the special permission of the War Office, of Lieutenant Warren, R.E. (the late General Sir Charles Warren) to make archæological investigations with a view to solving the outstanding questions of Jerusalem topography, for example, the exact position of the ancient walls and gates, and of Solomon's temple, the problems connected with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other historic sites. The results of his very extensive, and at times hazardous, work, he published in two valuable books, *The Recovery of Jerusalem* and *Underground Jerusalem*. The particularly dangerous exploration at the S.E. corner of the temple enclosure by means of deep driven shafts is familiar to all readers of the Quarterly Statement, through the illustration on the cover. The full significance of the finding of Warren's tunnel in Ophel leading to the Virgin's fountain has only been fully appreciated since the discovery by Professor Macalister of the great "water-tunnel" at Gezer. The Jerusalem volume of the Memoirs of the Fund, published in 1882, was largely an account of Warren's book. Although minor investigations in Jerusalem never ceased, it was not until 1894 that the P.E.F. undertook any regular expedition for exploration in Jerusalem. This time they had the benefit of the experience of other archæological work both in Jerusalem and elsewhere. The methods employed were more modern. Mr. F. J. Bliss, together with Mr. A. C. Dickie as architect, were instructed to trace the course of the ancient southern wall. The south-western angle of the old wall had been exposed during alterations in 1874 at what is now "Bishop's Gobat's School," and the rock scarps of its most western end were visible in the Anglo-German Cemetery. In this endeavour they were very successful in establishing the fact that during at least three periods in the past a line of walls had enclosed all the two hills between the Valley of Hinnom and the Kidron. On the course of these walls extensive remains of three ancient city gates were found. In the neighbourhood of the lower end of the Siloam tunnel the ancient limits of the Pool of Siloam were defined and a grand flight of limestone steps was discovered running up the Tyropœan Valley. Immediately over the outlet of the tunnel were found the remains of a Fifth Century Church. A little lower down, where the Tyropœan opens into the Kidron Valley, a massive dam was found crossing the valley mouth and in the valley below there were remains of Roman baths. A great rock cut drain was found running down the western side of the Tyropœan and passing south under the remains of the Dung Gate. These successful excavations closed in 1897, and the results were published by the Society in a volume—*Excavations in Jerusalem, 1894-1897.*

Jerusalem once again became the field of one of the Fund's extensive excavations when—shortly after the War—the Committee was able, assisted by the generosity of the *Daily Telegraph* and of Sir Charles Marston, to accept the proposal of the Palestine Government that they should undertake excavations upon the Hill Ophel. This has been generally accepted to be the site of the Jerusalem of the Jebusites and of Zion, the City of David. The first spell of work was commenced by Professor R. A. S. Macalister, and was continued by his assistant, the Reverend Garrow Duncan. An

"Annual" was published embodying the results, the most outstanding of which was the great "Eastern Bastion"—supposed to be Solomon's and with remains of pre-Hebrew work—standing on the edge of the Kidron Valley above the Virgin's fountain, now preserved as a national monument. Largely through the generosity of Sir Charles Marston, investigations at this unique site have continued—in periods of a few months at a time—under the direction of Mr. Crowfoot—and should further support be obtained it is proposed to resume excavations this Autumn. The recovery of the quite unknown Western Gateway opening upon the Tyropœan Valley and the discovery of the great paved street running up the same Valley have fully rewarded the efforts of the last two season's work.

II.

THE GREAT SURVEYS.

The greatest of the works undertaken by the P.E.F. and the one which has earned the obligation of gratitude from all those interested in Palestine are the great Surveys which it has carried out.

The Survey of Western Palestine took all the resources of the Society during the years 1871-1877 and cost altogether some £17,000. The results are embodied in sets of maps—the most important being that on the scale of 1 in. to the mile—and in a series of *Memoirs*, now indispensable to all students of Palestine, in which is given the fullest information on the Geography, Archæology and Natural History of the Holy Land. In the carrying out of this great work the Fund was fortunate in having a staff of men whose names are celebrated in varied spheres—notably Kitchener and Conder in the Survey work, and Tristram and Clermont-Ganneau in Natural History and Archæology respectively.

Eastern Palestine at this time presented a much more difficult problem as the Turkish Government (which had been friendly over the earlier work) was then unable to control the warlike and undisciplined Bedouin and, being thus unable to guarantee the safety of the expedition, sought to stop its progress. In 1881-82 Conder, with the assistance of Lieutenant A. M. Mantell, R.E. made a bold and necessarily rather hurried survey of the regions around es-Salt and Amman. The Committee published a map and a volume, *The Survey of Eastern Palestine*, and Conder published an interesting book *Heth and Moab*, giving a personal account of his work. In 1885-1889 the Committee were able to obtain the services of Dr. G. Schumacher, who as engineer upon the Survey for the new railway from Haifa to Damascus, had considerable opportunities for making partial surveys and archæological notes. The results of this work were embodied in three volumes issued by the Fund—*Across the Jordan* and *The Jaulan* (1886) and *Abela, Pella and Northern Ajlun* (1889).

During 1887-1894 Mr. Armstrong, who had been engaged with Colonel Conder in the Survey of Western Palestine, constructed the well-known *Raised Map of Palestine* (8 feet long by 4½ feet broad).

In 1883 a Geological Expedition under Professor E. Hull—accompanied by Captain Kitchener and Mr. Armstrong for the survey of the Wady Arabah—was successfully carried through. The results are included in two volumes by Professor Hull, *Mount Seir* and *The Geology of Palestine and Arabia Petraea.*

The most recent of the Fund's surveys was made just before the Great War, in 1913-14. When the survey of Western Palestine had been completed in 1877, the Southern part was necessarily left very incomplete, and a gap remained between this and that part of the Sinai Peninsula controlled by Egypt which had been surveyed by the Egyptian Government. This area—the ancient Negeb—was only very imperfectly known, and was one of importance both politically and from the archæological aspect. The survey work was entrusted—by permission of the War Office—to Captain S. F. Newcombe, R.E., and Lieutenant F. C. S. Greig, R.E., while Mr. C. L. Woolley and Mr. T. E. Lawrence accompanied the expedition as Archæologists. The Archæological results are included in an Annual (vol. iii), *The Wilderness of Zin*, published in 1914.

It will be seen that all these surveys meant much more than simply mapping of the physical features. In every case full notes and plans were made of everything of archæological importance found on the surface, and though much of this has been, and is being, supplemented and enlarged by later and more detailed observations, these reports are the foundations upon which our knowledge of the surface archæology of Palestine is built up.

During these years it has become increasingly clear that if we would learn more of the past we must dig beneath the surface, and so our knowledge of Ancient Palestine has been enormously increased by excavations on the sites of ancient cities and towns. These "diggings" have been yielding increasingly important results as each successive excavation benefits from the accumulated observations of its predecessors. The P.E.F. was here first in the field, but many other societies—British, German, American and Austrian—have come forward, and have each contributed a share towards the sum total of our knowledge of the ancient civilization of Palestine. It is only possible to give here a brief outline of the work of the Fund.

III.

The Excavation of the Tells of Palestine.

A *tell* is a flat-topped hill recognisable as an ancient site by the depth of its soil above the natural rock. Sometimes on this account its summit is conspicuously green and fertile. Sometimes a careful examination shows the remains of walls projecting through the soil, and always at or near the surface there are quantities of broken pottery. Excavations on such a site reveal foundation of houses and city walls with quantities of pottery—chiefly broken, but even then of importance to the archæologist—and countless small objects of human construction. The first place chosen was Tell el-Hesy, some 16 miles N.E. of Gaza ; a site which proved to be that of the ancient city of Lachish. The preliminary survey excavation was commenced in 1890 by Professor (now Sir) Flinders Petrie, and is memorable in the history of Palestine archæology, as here Petrie traced out the main historic characteristics of the local pottery. He laid the foundations of the classification of Palestine pottery on which has been built up an elaborate scheme so that pottery from any site in Palestine can now be assigned to its proper historic period. Petrie published an account of his preliminary work in *Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*), but a later volume, *A Mound of Many Cities*, by Mr. F. J. Bliss, contained an account of two years' subsequent work by the author. Mr. Bliss, who had worked with Petrie in Egypt, cut away accumulated debris some sixty feet in depth over an area of about one-third of the tell. He found the remains of eight towns—three belonging to the pre-Hebrew period—and planned these and the city walls over the area excavated. Perhaps the most sensational discovery was that of a clay tablet belonging to the series known as the Tell el-Amarna tablets, which contained the name of Zimrida, a governor of Lachish about 1400 B.C., whose name occurs in other tablets of the correspondence. It was found in the third most ancient of the cities.

After carrying out the explorations at Jerusalem referred to above, Mr. Bliss, assisted by Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, undertook the exploration of a group of tells in the Shephelah, or low country, in the south-west of Palestine. Four tells were examined—too many for so short a time, according to modern ideas—with the result that much further light has been thrown upon the condition of ancient Palestine. The work at Tell Sandahannah—undertaken, unfortunately, almost at the end of the "permit" granted by the Turkish Government—proved the most hopeful of all, but there was no time to excavate more than the remains of the Greek City. The site was shown to be that of the ancient city of Mareshah, the birthplace of the prophet Micah, a city whose name was later Marissa. An indirect result of this work was the discovery of the very remarkable Syro-Greek tombs described by the discoverers in the volume, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa.* Explorations were also made of the vast caves which riddle the hill upon which the ancient city stood. The results of all this work were published in a volume, *Excavations in Palestine during the years* 1898-1900.

This work, which was in many ways of a preliminary nature, prepared the way for the greatest, and most complete, of all the excavations in Palestine—that at *Tell el-Jesari.* This site had been confidently identified by M. Clermont-Ganneau as that of the very important ancient fortified city of Gezer. Altogether, five years (1902-4, 1907-9) were devoted by Mr. Macalister to this work, with most gratifying results. The powerful city walls and gates of at least three periods, the Canaanite "high place" with its eight great monoliths, the great "water tunnel" with its flight of 80 steps, the Maccabean palace with its inscription mentioning the name of Simon, and a vast number of small objects are all described in *The Excavation of Gezer*, published by the Fund in 1911.

After a pause, excavations were resumed at a site close to the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway, known as Ain Shems, and identified with considerable probability as that of Beth Shemesh. Dr. Duncan Mackenzie and Mr. F. G. Newton here traced the ancient city walls, and found a fine gateway, and also entirely excavated the remains of an ancient Byzantine Convent. In the Necropolis they found great quantities of ancient pottery. The results are published in the second volume of the *Annual* (1912-13). American workers have recently re-opened the work at this site, and are still engaged upon it. The first *Annual* contained interesting reports by Mr. Mackenzie upon Megalithic Monuments in Amman, and an account of the Khazneh at Petra by Professor Dalman.

After the War a short excavation was begun at Askalon, and an interesting Roman temple or cloister was found ; but the Philistine remains which it was specially hoped to reach were found by Professor Garstang to be overlaid by such masses of later Roman Stone Work that it was considered to be too vast an undertaking to clear it all away, with the limited funds at the disposal of the Committee. To excavate properly Askalon would need a large expedition equipped with lavish resources. Some smaller excavations were made near Gaza and one made at Tell Jemmeh paved the way for the most successful work recently done at that site by Sir Flinders Petrie.

As has been already mentioned, the Fund's most recent efforts have been concentrated upon Jerusalem, and it is hoped that at least one more spell of work will be made to recover the remains of the earliest Jerusalem. Sir Charles Marston has again generously come forward with a donation of £500, but to make the re-opening of the excavations worth while an equivalent sum—at least—should be contributed by the general public. Ophel, the ancient Zion or city of David, and the site of the royal necropolis of the Kings of Judah, may yet yield an archæological find of surprising importance, but the Fund needs more money for the adequate examination of such a unique site.

A still more ambitious plan for the future is being considered. Some years ago Professor Lyons and Professor Reisner made a most successful excavation at Sebasteyeh—the site of Samaria, the capital city of the Kingdom of Israel and of the later Græco-Roman city built by Herod the Great and called by him Sebaste. Although the foundations of the palaces of Omri, Ahab and Jeroboam II were uncovered, and a great temple of Herod—which stood over the early palace foundations—was also fully explored, much still remains to be found upon this great and attractive site. Professor Reisner himself considers that the work done is quite preliminary. The Board of Oriental Studies of Harvard University has now invited the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund to co-operate with them in a three years' campaign at this site. It is a great opportunity. The site is so vast that the *P.E.F.* could never hope to undertake its excavation single-handed, but the American Authorities are inviting the Fund to come in as partners on very favourable terms. It is proposed that the *P.E.F.* should guarantee £1,000 a year for three years, which will be only a fraction of what the total cost will be. It is hoped that Mr. Crowfoot, Director of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, will be able to give his services to the Palestine Exploration Fund as Director for this work. In this way contributions to this excavation will assist both the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School of Archæology.

Ordinary subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund pay £1 1s. per annum and receive the Quarterly Statement gratis. Those who have paid £5 5s. (either in one sum or in Annual Subscriptions) are elected as Members of the General Committee (the Governing Body) and for as long as they continue to pay £1 1s. per annum have a right to vote at the annual meetings. A sum of 25 guineas constitutes Life Membership. New subscribers of £2 2s. will receive gratis the Annuals (or Memoirs) of the Fund as published.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN JERUSALEM.

UNDER the terms of the Mandate for the administraion of Palestine, Great Britain is responsible for the protection and maintenance of Ancient Monuments. The present Law of Antiquities provides facilities for research and excavation by all nationalities; and several expeditions from European and American institutions are already at work. Explorers of American, French and German nationalities have long had their own Schools and Libraries, as bases for their field work, and centres for training and study. But though the Palestine Exploration Fund was one of the first pioneers of scientific investigation in Palestine, there was not any such headquarters for British students.

In 1919, however, through the joint efforts of the British Academy and the Palestine Exploration Fund, there was established the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, on the same lines as have already been so productive of trained students and scientific results, in the

British Schools of Archæology in Athens and in Rome. The School in Jerusalem was designed to fulfil the same function in relation to the Palestine Exploration Fund, as the British School at Athens, for example fulfils to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in London, that is to say :—

(1) To facilitate the researches of scholars.

(2) To provide instruction and guidance for students.

(3) To train archæological excavators and administrators.

(4) To assist the excavations and explorations of the Palestine Exploration Fund ; and supplement them as occasion offers by investigations on its own account.

The School was to be maintained by a body of subscribers and administered by Officers and a Council elected annually ; the Director of the School and other members of the staff being appointed by the Council which also enrols Students on the recommendation of the Director ; and the property of the School being vested in Trustees.

In the spring of 1920, the British School of Archæology began work in a small building in the outskirts of Jerusalem, In the summer of the same year, the Director, Dr. John Garstang, was appointed also Director of the newly-formed Department of Antiquities. It was understood that the Department was to be responsible for the protection and conservation of the antiquities of Palestine, and that the School, like other such institutions in Jerusalem, would devote itself to archæological research and the training of excavators and administrators for Archæological service in the Near East. The Assistant Director, Mr. W. J. Phythian-Adams, became keeper of the new National Museum ; and the students of the School devoted considerable time to the compilation of records of Palestinian sites, monuments and the like, for the use of the Department, as well as the School.

Later in 1920, the School, Department, and National Museum were transferred to more commodious premises, which they continued to occupy jointly, though under varying conditions, until the beginning of 1930. From 1920 to 1925, the library of the American School of Oriental Research was also housed in this building, and was of the greatest use both to the School and to the Department.

In 1926, owing to the great increase of the work of the Department, as well as that of the School, it was agreed to separate the two Directorships, and distinguish more precisely between the administrative task of recording and protecting ancient monuments, and the School's special functions of research, advanced study, and co-operation with the Palestine Exploration Fund in its excavations, which had been resumed as soon as the condition of the country permitted. The present Director is, therefore, able to devote his whole time to archæological research and assistance to explorers and students.

In the first years after the mandatory occupation of Palestine, there was some risk of damage to historic monuments through neglect and accidents of war. Friends of the School, therefore, raised a substantial "Special Conservation Fund," which made it possible to deal with the more urgent needs, in conjunction with local bodies and other agencies, until the Department of Antiquities was sufficiently organized.

From the first, it has been part of the programme of the School to offer public lectures on subjects of general or current interest, as well as on the School's own researches. These have been well attended, and much appreciated by the staff and students of the other archæological schools in Jerusalem, as well as by the public. The Palestine Oriental Society has also, from time to time, held its meetings at the School; and residents in Jerusalem engaged in various studies have had the use of the Library and Archives. Special mention should be made in this connexion, of the School's local supporters, and of the voluntary help, secretarial and other, which the School has frequently received from Lady Watson and other British residents.

It has been throughout an object of the School to provide some kind of Hostel for its students, as well as the necessary workrooms and reference-library. But the cost of such a building, which has been proved to be invaluable by experience of the British Schools in Athens and Rome, has been hitherto far beyond the resources of the School. All the more gratefully therefore is the hospitality acknowledged of the École Biblique de Saint Étienne, and other institutions, which have from time to time received resident members of the British School, as well as offering to them always the use of their libraries, and opportunity for consulting their Directors and learned Staff.

In 1930, the arrangement by which the School occupied part of the same building as the Department of Antiquities and the National Museum, was brought to an end by mutual consent; and the School's Library and Archives have been transferred, on the invitation of the American School of Oriental Research, to most convenient quarters in the American School's building, to which not only our own students, and those of the American School, but also other persons authorized by the Directors of either School, will have access under proper conditions for the maintenance and safety of the books.

The Library now contains about 3,000 volumes. It includes a number of important periodicals which are not taken by the American School. In future purchases and subscriptions to periodicals will be made by each of the two Schools in accordance with an agreed plan. Many of these were most generously made over to the School by Mr. W. J. Phythian-Adams, the first Assistant Director, from his own working library, when he left Palestine in 1924.

A brief account follows of the excavations conducted by the Director of the School, or by Students, either on behalf of other institutions, or with funds specially raised.

1921. *Askalon* (for the Palestine Exploration Fund).

(*a*) A deeply stratified section yielded a copious sequence of pottery, from mediæval and Hellenistic, through Hellenic and Early-Iron-Age, to the XVIII-XIX Dynasty period of Ægean and North Syrian influences, and to earlier layers without clear date-marks, but probably not far short of the XII Dynasty occupation of Palestine.

(*b*) A fine marble cloister round a courtyard, perhaps the gift of Herod the Great to his native town, recorded by Josephus.

1922. *Tell-Harbaj.* (Mr. W. J. Phythian-Adams, with a donation from Baron Edmond de Rothschild): a " tell," commanding the pass from the plain of Acre to that of Megiddo, with fortress-wall deeply buried in debris of the later-bronze-age (circa 1500 B.C.) and founded upon the remains of an early bronze-age settlement. *Bulletin* No. 2, p. 12-14, pl. iii-iv; No. 3, p. 45-6, pl. iv.

1922. *Tell Amr and Tell Kussis.* (Mr. W. J. Phythian Adams, as above): similar " tells," but of different periods Tell Amr representing only the Early Bronze-age, Tell Kussis only the Early Bronze-Age. *Bulletin* No. 2, p. 14-17, pl. v-vi. This excavation " disposed completely of any possibility " that Tell Amr might be the Biblical " Harosheth of the gentiles," in spite of the name, Harothiyeh, of a neighbouring modern village.

123. *Jerash.* The "Southern Temple" was planned and drawn by Mr. Ernest Richmond, F.R.I.B.A., from the Directors' field notes. *Bulletin* No. 3, p. 28-31, pl. ii-v.

1924. *Tanturah* (*Dora*). (The Director and Students: with School funds.) This site was formerly identified with the Biblical *Dor* which was probably a frontier fortress of Esdraelon which fell early into decay, and have not been recovered. It is, however, probably the Dora of Wenamon's narrative, about 1100 B.C., and the Dor of Eshmunazar's epitaph about 350 B.C., when it belonged to Sidon. Herod's creation of a great artificial harbour at Caesarea reduced Dor to insignificance, but from the time of Antoninus Pius (64 A.D.) to that of Elagabalus (222 A.D.) it had its pwn coins; and in the fifth century it was a bishopric. Archæologically, its record begins in the Late Bronze-Age, like Askalon, and goes on in to the Early Iron-Age with a culture like that of Philistia further south, and so on into Hellenistic mediocrity. A much-devastated building of Hellenistic date and Ionic style may have been a temple. *Bulletin* No. 4, p. 35-44; pl. i-111; No. 6, p. 65-73; pl. 1-iv; No. 7, p. 80-98.

1925. *Tabgha Caves in Galilee.* (Mr. F. Turville Petre and others; with School Funds.) The cave called Mugharet el-Emireh contains Aurignacian and Magdalenian material; the Mugharet el-Zuttiyeh, beneath a superficial layer of mixed neolithic and mediæval debris, has a Mousterian deposit, with hearths, and the remains of the "Galilee Skull" of peculiar type akin to that of Neanderthal. *Bulletin* No. 7, p. 99-102, pl. iii-v; *Memoir II, Researches in Prehistoric Galilee*, 1926.

1927. *Tyropoeon Valley, Jerusalem.* (The Director and Mr. G. M. Fitzgerald: for the Palestine Exploration Fund.) A great trench to rock level revealed foundations of domestic buildings at various levels, a Byzantine street and gateway, and fragments of Maccabean Wall on rock-level.

1928. *Shukbah Cave* near Lydda (Miss D. A. E. Garrod and others: with funds provided by Lord Astor, Mr. H. Osborne O'Hagan and Mr. Robert Mond.) This cave yielded stratified remains of Mousterian, Aurignacian and Microlithic cultures, with some human bones. *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1928. This work was to have been continued in 1929, but was postponed because exploration of the cave at Athlit (below) was more urgent.

1928-29. *Jerash.* (The Director and Students in association with Yale University, with funds from Oxford University, All Souls College, the Schweich Fund of the British Academy and Mr. H. J. Patten.) The Church of St. Theodore between the Temple of Artemis and the North Avenue was cleared, together with the Fountain Court east of it. In 1929 a great staircase leading to a second church east of the Fountain Court was cleared, and also a group of three other churches west of St. Theodore's, with remarkable mosaic pavements. Under one of these churches lay a Jewish Synagogue, with a mosaic depicting the family of Noah, with marginal processions of animals.

1928-29. *Monastery and Church of St. Euthymius* at Khan el-Ahmar (Rev. D. J. Chitty and others, with grants from Oxford University, the Sunday Fund and New College.) The church contains mosaics of varous periods. Under it is a crypt which may have been an earlier church. Near the main church stands a large chapel, in the crypt of which, under a mosaic floor is a tomb in the position ascribed to the resting place of the Saint.

1929. *Palaeolithic Cave near Athlīt.* (Miss D. A. E. Garrod and others, in conjunction with the American School of Prehistoric Research, and a donation from Mr. Robert Mond.) The cave presents a remarkable sequence from Neolithic and Microlithic deposits, through Aurignacian to Mousterian, with a composite burial containing numerous bodies, and a carved bull in hard stone.

It will be evident from this account of its activities that the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem makes its appeal for support in the first place to Universities, Colleges and Learned Societies interested in the study of the natural features and human history of Palestine and adjacent regions, as a necessary part of the national provision for these branches of learning. The services which such a School of Archæology can render to explorers and students have been conspicuously illustrated by the British Schools in Athens and Rome. The need for such a School in Palestine is no less clear, in view of the profound significance of this country in the history of the world, and the very varied problems which it offers also in geography, natural history, economics, and social studies.

The School appeals also to all classes of persons who are concerned with the interpretation of the three great religions—Hebrew, Christian and Mohammedan—which have in turn dominated the country, and have been so profoundly affected by its conditions and mode of life. For all visitors to Palestine and its "Holy Places" from Great Britain and the Dominions, the School endeavours to provide trustworthy information, efficient guidance, and an adequate reference library, adequately furnished in the first instance with the English literature of Palestinian studies (which is copious), a topographical index to sites and monuments, and, so far as funds permit, with standard works in other languages, supplementary to the special resources of the other archæological Schools in Jerusalem.

In this connexion it should be noted that the British School has enjoyed the collaboration of the French Ecole Biblique de Saint Etienne, the American School of Oriental Research, the German Archæological Institute, the Palestine Oriental Society, the Hebrew University, and resident scholars of all nationalities. Students of each of these Schools are admitted to the libraries of the rest. They are free to attend each others "open meetings" and courses of instruction, and have frequent opportunities for informal discussion and interchange of information and views. In this respect the School may be described as the British College in an international university, the natural home and meeting place of students from Great Britain and the Dominions.

The primary need of the School at the present stage of its development is a secure income from subscriptions :—

1. For the salaries of the Director and an Assistant Director. The conditions of archæological research in Palestine are such that without the services of two fully qualified residents it is impossible to carry on the School efficiently.

2. For the purchase of books, periodicals, maps, and other requirements of the Library.

3. For the publication of work done by members of the School, in so far as this is not provided for in the Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

4. To enable the School to assist deserving Students, by payment of travelling expenses and maintenance while engaged in study and research in Palestine. It is especially with this object that appeal is made to the Universities and Colleges of Great Britain and the Dominions.

Eventually it will be necessary also to raise funds for the establishment, maintenance and eventual endowment of a Hostel for resident students, with quarters for the Director, and work-rooms for the handling of material from excavations, and for the use of a draughtsman, a photographic room, and eventually a lecture-room for the School's open meetings.

Membership of the School is acquired by subscription as follows

Associates pay annually £1 1s., or life composition £15 15s.
Members pay annually £2 2s., or life composition £31 10s.
Foundation Members £10 10s., or life composition £100.
Founders, a single donation of £500.

Universities and Learned Societies subscribing annually £20 are entitled to be represented on the Council, and to nominate annually one Student of the School without entrance fee.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL IN JERUSALEM.

Bulletin 1.—Contents. Director's Foreword. Hittite and Trojan Allies. by W. J. Phythian-Adams. Notes and News. Excavation and Discovery: Beisan, Beit Jibrin, Tell el-Ful, &c. [1922.)

Bulletin 2.—Contents. Field Work of the School, 1922. Geography of the Plain of Acre. Reports on Tell el-Harbaj, Tell Amr, and Tell el-Kussis. Notes and News. (1922.)

Bulletin 3.—Introduction, being General Remarks on the Work of the School. Philistine Origins in the Light of Palestinian Archæology. Prehistoric Remains near Tabgah. Notes and News. (1923.)

Bulletin 4.—Contents. Introduction. Tanturah (Dora): Historical Notes, Archæological Results. El-Harbaj. Notes on Pottery. Notes and News. (1924.)

Bulletin 5.—Contents. Introduction. An Early Iron Age Cemetery near Haifa. A Sculptured Marble Sarcophagus of Roman Age from Caesarea. A Tomb in the Kedron Valley containing Ossuaries. Notes and News. (1924.)

Bulletin 6.—Contents. Tanturah (Dora). The Site, Excavations. Huleh Basin. Preliminary Survey, Prehistoric and other Remains. Notes and News. Taba Bur, near Amman. Notes on a Roman Tomb. (1924.)

Bulletin 7.—Contents. Introduction. Tanturah (Dora). The Pottery. Jerash (Geraza). Notes on the Southern Theatre. Wady el-Amud (Galilee). Excavation of two Palæolithic Caves near Tabgah, Preliminary Report. Note on the Galilee Skull (Sir Arthur Keith). Notes and News. (1925.)

Supplementary Papers 1.—Index of Hittite Names. Section A. Geographical, Part I. By L. A. Mayer and J. Garstang. Price 5s. 6d. Subscribers 4s. (1923.)

Supplementary Papers 2.—The Origin of the Plan of the Dome of the Rock. By K. A. C. Creswell. Price 5s. Subscribers 4s. (1924.)

The Annual Reports.—Being a general summary of the year's work. Accounts, &c. (1920-26.)

Researches in Prehistoric Galilee, 1925-1926. By F. Turville-Petre. With Sections by Dorothea M. Bate and Charlotte Baynes. And *A Report on the Galilee Skull.* By Sir Arthur Keith, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., &c. Price £2 2s. This volume has been issued gratis to all Ordinary Members, and is sold to Associate Members at half price.

Note.—The Bulletins have been issued to Members on publication. Back numbers may be purchased at 5s. each, to Subscribers, price 2s. 6d. *Annual Reports*, 2s. each, to Subscribers 1s. Of these *Bulletins* and *Annual Reports* only a few copies remain.

SOME STONE AGE SITES RECENTLY INVESTIGATED.

By Gerald M. FitzGerald, M.A.

There is abundant evidence that in recent years there has been a general awakening of interest in the Prehistory of Palestine, not only among experts who realise that there are important problems which await solution in this field, but also on the part of a wider public whose attention was attracted by the finding of the Galilee Skull in 1925.[1] As a consequence of this a very notable advance has been made since 1897 in the discovery of new material, and we seem to be rapidly approaching the time when it will be possible to distinguish the successive phases of the Stone Age in Palestine, and to determine their relations with those of Europe and Africa. We may expect also that before very long an appropriate terminology may be evolved, to replace that now in use which is mainly drawn from the type-stations in France.[2] For it is obvious that though there is no purpose in making a distinction without a difference it is still more dangerous to confuse under a single term cultures which are not identical.

A step in the right direction has already been taken by Miss D. Garrod who has proposed the name *Natufian* to describe the Microlithic industry (the small implements or pigmy tools as they are sometimes called), found by her at Shukba and at el-Wad, and provisionally assigned to the Mesolithic period.[3] This name is taken from the Wady Natūf on the northern side of which the cave of Shukba was discovered by Père Mallon, S.J. Readers of the *Q.S.* will recollect that Miss Garrod's excavation there in 1928 resulted in the identification of two strata, in the lower of which Upper Palæolithic forms are associated with the Mousterian in a manner not met with in Europe, forming an industry which is (only provisionally, let us hope) styled Aurignacio-Mousterian. The upper Stone Age stratum consists of that "mesolithic industry of Capsian affinities" to which the name Natufian was subsequently applied. Bone points and needles occur in connexion with it.

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[1] F Turville-Petre, *Researches in Prehistoric Galilee* (1927)

[2] The articles on which this survey is based make use of the common terms to describe the various periods, *viz.* : Chellean, Acheulean (Early or Lower Palæolithic) Mousterian (Middle Palæolithic), Aurignacian and Magdalenian and their African equivalent Capsian (Upper Palæolithic), Azilian, Tardenoisian and Campignian (Mesolithic, or transitional to Neolithic).

[3] *Q.S.*, 1928, p. 182 ; 1929, p. 220.

At el-Wad in 1929 Miss Garrod excavated in the inner chamber of the cave a sequence more complete than any previously found in Palestine. The lowest of the industries to be reached appears to be identical with the Aurignacio-Mousterian of Shukba; the layer above this, containing very delicate flint points, cannot at present be classified except under the heading of Upper Palæolithic; overlying this is a Middle Aurignacian stratum, above which again there comes an industry which "recalls to some extent the Chatelperron level, which in Western Europe is found *below* the middle Aurignacian." The layer above this is Natufian (a stage of the industry probably somewhat later than that found at Shukba) to which succeed the Bronze Age and later deposits. In the outer chamber of the same cave the Natufian industry was associated with a burial of ten skeletons, and included a pebble carved into the form of a human head as well as a number of bone objects of which the most remarkable was a carving in the round of a young animal.

The excavations at Shukba and at el-Wad are not yet completed. and are still unpublished except for the brief preliminary notices in the *Q.S.* They are only touched on in these notes because they serve to show a tendency towards differentiating the Palestinian from the European Stone Age cultures which may be usefully borne in mind when we proceed to summarize the articles which Père Denis Buzy, S.C.J., has recently contributed to the *Revue Biblique.* These deal with surface finds of stone implements in two distinct areas, the Negeb beyond the southern frontier of Palestine and the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. Researches of this character, where the objects are found on the open hill-side, cannot be expected to be as valuable as the excavation of stratified layers in caves, but they are nevertheless well worthy of attention.

Père Buzy, in his article on the implements from the Wady Tahuneh,[4] fully recognizes that Palestinian prehistory can never reach assured conclusions by means of unstratified finds and precarious comparisons with the industries of other countries. He was, of course, unable at the time of writing to make use of the information which has since been gained by Miss Garrod and also by M. René Neuville in his excavation in the cave of Umm Ḵatafa. The most important of the Mesolithic stations known to Père Buzy is three kilometres south of Bethlehem, on a plateau lying between a bend of the Wady (which is a continuation of the W. Arṯas) and the Roman road leading to the Frank Mountain. The implements of this industry described and illustrated comprise hatchets or picks, side-scrapers, stilettos, knives, arrow-heads, anvil-stones and hammer stones[5]: with them are found pestles and mortars, mill-stones and grinders, which point to the existence of an agricultural people.

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[4] "Une Industrie Mésolithique en Palestine," *Rev. Bibl.*, 1928, p. 558.

Out of about two hundred unpolished hatchets or picks the greater number are so rough as to seem unfinished, but a certain number are finely made with sharp edges. There is much variety in the colour of the stone and in the shape of the implements, many of them approximating to that of the laurel-leaf. In no case is the butt-end expressly shaped for use as a hammer, and some examples are double-edged. Describing the method of striking by which a fine edge is produced, Père Buzy maintains the opinion (held by J. de Morgan) that the crescent-shaped blades characteristic of the Mesolithic industries were not made to be used but were struck off in the process of giving an edge to the hatchets. He supports this view by the evidence of five examples where a fragment of the implement has been broken off along with the crescent blade, and points to the untrimmed edges and other characteristics of these small blades.

The knife blades are of two kinds: some are without a tang, while others are tanged, and would be classified by some authorities as stilettos. Among the former are found many admirable examples; in these the under-side is left flat, as it was struck off the core. The upper side usually has two facets, formed by two blows on the butt in the direction of the point, with a central ridge between them, but sometimes this ridge is removed by another blow, so as to produce a third facet. Some of the blades have only one cutting edge, others are said to have one facet lightly hammered by fine pressure for the purpose of sharpening it, like the edge of a scythe. The tanged knives are distinguishable from arrow-heads, which they somewhat resemble, by differences in the form of their bases, which have neither wings not incisions, but mainly by their blunt points. Blades with serrated edges are found, early examples of the saws which become common in the neolithic period. Two stilettos are noted and illustrated.

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[5] The French terms are, whenever possible, rendered by the equivalents given by M. Burkitt, *Prehistory* (1921), p. xviii. sq., *et passim*. It is of course advisable to refer to the plates illustrating the articles in the *Revue Biblique*.

Arrow-heads are numerous at Tahuneh; the largest measures 7 cm. in length and 2.5 cm. in width, the most finished specimen, of pink flint, has two pairs of wings or barbs, the pair nearest the base being prominent, the other projecting only slightly. Père Buzy would concede that this specimen, with some others, belongs to the neolithic period, and is evidence of an admixture of the later industry among the prevailing mesolithic implements.

In addition to the implements above described, the finds include a nodule which is believed to have served as an anvil-stone, and a number of pestles of various shapes and materials, which are attributed, though not with absolute confidence, to the mesolithic period. The discovery of these pestles led to researches at various stations, which were rewarded by the finding of stones in which depressions had been sunk to serve as mortars. The shape of these *cupules* suggests that the cup-marks which are so often seen in Palestine on the surface of the rock were made for the same purpose.[6]

At the neighbouring station of Hallet el-Hameh a different industry appears, the characteristic implements of which are the round scraper (*racloir rond*) and small *dos rabattu* knife-blades. Père Buzy notes also some characteristic Tardenoisean implements, small and half-moon shaped, which suggest the "small crescentic knives" which Miss Garrod found in the mesolithic stratum at Shukbah[7].

At the conclusion of his article, Père Buzy brings forward arguments in support of his view, that the industry of Tahuneh should be classified as mesolithic, though admitted to be closely related to the neolithic.[8]

Assuming the unpolished hatchet as taking the place of the palæolithic *coup-de-poing* (of which no examples occur here), he urges that the hatchets of Taẖuneh are in certain cases of a workmanship superior to the *unpolished* specimens of the neolithic period, and connects these hatchets or picks with the Campignian industry[9], assigning the round scrapers along with pigmy tools to the Tardenoisean.

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[6] For the association of these cup-marks with religious practices and for various uses to which they may have been put see Vincent, *Canaan*, pp. 99 *sq.*, 125 *sqq.*

[7] *Q.S.*, 1928, p. 182.

[8] M. René Neuville would limit the Mesolithic element to some of the cores and round scrapers, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, ix., (1929), p. 119.

We find a completely different industry when we turn to the neighbourhood of Kadesh-barnea, in the Negeb, a region which may, for our purposes, be regarded as a part of Palestine, though actually lying outside the southern frontier of the country. At both the stations which Père Buzy discusses in recent numbers of the *Revue Biblique*[10] he observes that the implements must be classified as Upper Palæolithic, and expresses the opinion that they partake of the Magdalenian character rather than of the Aurignacian, though the two cultures cannot be differentiated in the East as they can in Europe. As the Magdalenian culture has not hitherto been recognised in Palestine, this would be a point of considerable interest, if Père Buzy's opinion were generally accepted. M. Réne Neuville, however, who took part in the exploration of 'Ain el-Ḵedeirat, dissents from this view. He considers that there can be no question of Magdalenian in the complete absence of a bone industry, and that, moreover, the facies of the industry of that station is Aurignacian rather than Magdalenian.[11]

At 'Ain el-Ḵedeirat, as also at el-Ḵeseimeh, several Mousterian points were found; these Père Buzy would class as survivals of an earlier form into the Upper Palæolithic period. This collocation naturally suggests a parallel with the "Aurignacio-Mousterian" industry of Miss Garrod's caves, to which we have already alluded; but at this stage it is, of course, quite impossible to determine whether anything more is involved than a fortuitous resemblance between the two cases.

To continue a brief enumeration of the implements of 'Ain el-Ḵedeirat: side-scrapers are more common than points; various forms of scrapers, end-scrapers and core-scrapers, form here, as at el Keseimeh, the most numerous class among the finds. Akin to the keeled scraper is an implement (*rabot*) of which examples are found of small size; it is claimed that the Magdalenian *rabot* is typically smaller than the Aurignacian. Together with ordinary gravers are some polyhedric and one parrot-beak graver, but the beaked graver is lacking. Blades are noted as resembling the Upper Magdalenian examples from the type-station of La Madeleine; among the small blades (*lamelles*) one is said to resemble a Châtelperron point. A tap-borer and stilettos were also found.

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[9] But cf. Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 158: "in early Neolithic times hardly any polishing was done at all." The Campignian is there treated as one of the earliest of the Neolithic industries which succeeded the (transitional) Azilian and Tardenoisean.

[10] "Les stations lithiques d' El Qeseimeh," *Rev. Bibl.*, 1927, p. 90: "Une station magdalénienne dans le Négeb ('Ain-el-Qedeirat)," *Rev. Bib.*, 1929, p. 364.

[11] *J.P.O.S.*, ix., p. 115.

Père Buzy draws attention to the typically Aurignacian implements which did not appear among the finds: Audi knife-blades, Châtelperron, Gravette and Font-Robert points; he contends also that implements of a typically Capsian facies are equally lacking. It is on these grounds that he favours the Magdalenian classification for the industries in question.

We have seen that M. Neuville, who publishes a list of the prehistoric stations of Palestine and Trans-Jordan,[12] is unable to concur in Père Buzy's views. M. Neuville himself has been exploring a cave in the Wady Khareitun, of which the publication (*La Grotte d'Oumm-Qatafa*) is in preparation. In his list he summarizes the strata of this cave as (1) typical Acheuleo-Mousterian (La Micoque) . . . temperate fauna with warm elements (Rhinoceros Merckii). (2) Early Bronze I, flint and bone industries and pottery. . . . From this forthcoming work M. Neuville makes certain other additions to his list; we may note the industries from the Wady Khareitun, (1) Acheuleo-Mousterian, (2) Early and Middle Mousterian, (3) Mesolithic (pigmy tools), (4) examples with a Campignian facies, (5) Calcholithic. These, or some of them, appear on various other sites to be published in the same volume, which will doubtless be a valuable contribution to the Prehistory of Palestine.

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[12] *J.P.O.S.*, ix., pp. 114, *sqq*.

A SIXTEENTH CENTURY PILGRIM.

In the *Revue Biblique* of July, 1929 (p. 404 sqq.) Père A. Barrois directs attention to the collection of itineraries of the Holy Land in the Municipal Library of Amiens. Among the unpublished MSS. which he cites there is one of sufficient interest to merit a detailed summary, viz.: the narrative, written in French, by Pierre Mésenge, Canon of Rouen, who set out for Jerusalem on April 8. 1507. Readers of the *Q.S.* may perhaps be glad of an abridged account of this pilgrimage, though the vivid and humorous qualities of the author's style must necessarily suffer in translation.

Pierre Mésenge, travelling in company with three priests and several merchants, reached Venice on May 5, after having been more than once during the journey across France in great danger from armed marauders (*gens d'armes et adventuriers*). At Venice the party had to bargain for their passage to the East, and when they had come to an agreement with the master of a ship they were obliged to make provision against the discomforts of the voyage. Each of the pilgrims must have a chest for his belongings and a mattress to put on the chest to sleep upon, and a coverlet if he would not remain fully dressed. A good supply of linen is required as a protection against vermin, which at sea are a marvellous annoyance to those who neglect to provide against them. Other necessaries are wine, fresh water and bread, and also dried fish for days of abstinence, when the master of the ship will often treat the pilgrims ill, giving them putrid food by which fever and other maladies are engendered.

The party of pilgrims at last set sail on June 3 and reached Jaffa on July 3, touching at Ragusa, Candia and Rhodes on the voyage. They marked their arrival by chanting the Te Deum, but were nevertheless doomed to further delay, being obliged to await the arrival of a dragoman who was to bring them their safe-conducts. Even when they were allowed to land they had no better accommodation than the "vaults" where the natives (*les maures*) brought their camels during the heat of the day, wherefore they were all stinking and full of filth. It was not till July 27 that they were able to leave Jaffa, riding on donkeys and escorted by some of the Brothers of Mount Sion and 150 "*mamelus*" on horse back. Passing by the ruins of the castles of Yazur ("*Lozor*") and Beit Dejan ("*Tegnenet*") they reached Ramleh and were received by the Franciscans at the hospice built by Philip, Duke of Burgundy. Mésenge notes that there was no church at Ramleh, but a league away was a small town named Lydia or Lydie where there was a church founded in honour of St. George, and where he was martyred and had his head cut off upon a stone which was still to be seen.

The Pilgrims left Ramleh two hours before sunset on July 29, on the last stage of their journey to Jerusalem. One of them, Messire Jehan Chamin is overcome by the fatigues of the journey and dies upon the road; they load his body on the back of a camel and bring it with them to Jerusalem for burial.

From Pierre Mésenge's account it would appear that the route followed was to the north of Kubeibeh (identified with Emmaus, *les Esmaux*) and of the hill of Neby Samwîl, which they left on their right. The deserted road and the path between two mountains, which the party are said to have followed, appear to indicate the track along the Wady Selmān, leading into the road from Samaria, which runs below En-Ram (Ramatḥa) and enters Jerusalem from the north. "Modon" incidentally mentioned as the birth-place of the Maccabees, should, in the opinion of Père Barrois, be identified with Soba according to the usage of the period.

Pausing only to kneel in prayer outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the pilgrims were taken directly to the Hospital of St. John, formerly occupied by the Knights of Rhodes, which is described as a fine building 70 feet long, divided into two aisles by a row of columns. Thence they went in the afternoon to the cemetery of Mount Sion for the funeral of their companion Jehan Chamin.

The following day, Saturday, July 31, they visited the sanctuaries of Mount Sion. Opposite the old castle which some called the Castle of David, but which Mésenge attributes to *les Pisans* (meaning doubtless the Persians), they were shown the place where Our Lord was said to have appeared to the Holy Women after the Resurrection. They visited the house of the Virgin Mary and saw a marble table on which her body was laid; 18 or 20 feet away was a stone brought by an angel from Sinai on which St. John offered the Holy Sacrifice. Proceeding to the church of Mount Sion, which was reached by fourteen steps, they heard Mass there and then went in procession to the place where Our Lord instituted the Eucharist, directly below the middle of the high altar of the said church; thence across a terrace and up thirteen steps to the place where the Holy Ghost came down on the Apostles on the day of Pentecost; the chapel that had been begun there had been destroyed by the Sultan's orders. Thence the procession went down seventeen steps into the cloister leading to the chapel of St. Thomas. After the ceremony the pilgrims were entertained by the Christians of the Girdle at dinner, where Pierre Mésenge notes that the wine was much better than that which the Friars provided.

The same afternoon, towards four o'clock, the pilgrims were taken to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in which they were to spend the night. A procession was formed in the Lady Chapel, where a relic of the True Cross and a fragment of the column of the Flagellation were exposed for veneration, and where a marble slab, 20 feet away from the altar, commemorated the proving of the True Cross. From the site of the appearance of Our Lord to Mary Magdalen the procession passed the prison (*carcer Domini*) and the chapel of the division of the garments, and went down the 30 steps into the crypt of St. Helena and thence by 11 more steps to the place where the True Cross was found. This seemed to Pierre Mésenge to suggest that Calvary was near the town ditch and that the instruments of the Passion were thrown into the ditch which was afterwards filled by the ruins of the siege of Titus.

Under the altar of the so-called Chapel of the Reproaches was a fragment which some held to be another part of the column of the Flagellation, to which our pilgrim reasonably objects that it seemed not to be of the same colour as that in the Lady Chapel.

Pierre Mésenge quaintly describes the devotion and awe with which the pilgrims mounted the steps to Calvary. In the underground chapel of Golgotha he observed the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon and his nephew Baldwin; thence, passing by the Stone of Anointing, the procession reached the glorious and holy Sepulchre, which, he says, was inside a rock almost round, and with its entrance only 3½ feet high and 2½ wide, facing directly to the east.

After the high Mass, Pierre Mésenge himself celebrated on the altar in the Holy Sepulchre, and later returned to visit Calvary at his leisure. He noted that it was a very fine chapel with four vaults supported by a central column; in it the holes for the crosses of the two thieves were to be seen, but small pillars had been put in them in order that pilgrims should not be misled into reverencing either of them as the site of the Crucifixion. Between 7 and 8 in the morning the "*Mamelus*" came and counted the pilgrims, who were then obliged to leave the church.

Later in the day Pierre Mésenge visited a number of sites in Jerusalem and followed the stations of the Via Dolorosa, starting from the house of Pilate, which consisted of two portions, the Prætorium and the "*Lycostratos*"; the latter appears to have been regarded according to one tradition as the scene of the Ecce Homo. A visit was also paid to a house believed to be the palace of Herod.

On the following day the party started from Mount Sion on a pilgrimage to Bethany. Pierre Mésenge betrays a certain scepticism on being shown, near the tomb of David and Solomon, a wall which was said to bear traces of the fire at which the Passover lamb was roasted for the Last Supper. He appears also to have had some doubts when his guides pointed out, near the traditional house of Judas on the slope of the Mount of Olives, the tree on which the betrayer hanged himself. Further on, to the right of the road, he saw a finely built castle in which King Solomon was supposed to have kept his concubines.

The "house of Martha" was on a mountain-top above the town of Bethany, and presented the appearance of a ruined fortress, with towers. Below these ruins (which belong to the castle built by Queen Melissende) was the tomb of Lazarus, covered by a white marble slab, beneath a large vault in the shape of a church. Thence the pilgrims proceeded to the summit of the Mount of Olives and visited the site of the Ascension, a round vaulted chapel of perhaps 32 feet interior measurement, in the centre of which was a stone of four or five square feet on which Our Lord was standing when He ascended into Heaven. Not far from there to the south, on the way down to Jerusalem, was a ruined church, which some said was built in honour of St. Mark, others of St. Bartholomew, on the spot where each of the Apostles in turn composed an article of the Creed. A little further towards Jerusalem was the place where Our Lord taught His Apostles the Pater Noster.

The traditional scene of the Agony in the garden is minutely described, though not precisely in accordance with other contemporary accounts. First the spot was shewn where the three disciples waited, round which was a dry stone wall; a stone's throw higher up was where Jesus prayed twice. More than a bowshot away, near the tomb of the Virgin, in a large quarry underground was the place where Our Lord went to pray for the third time, and there was a stone on which sat an angel who comforted Him. The site of His arrest was eight or nine paces below the place where the Apostles had fallen asleep.

After venerating a number of sacred sites on the way the pilgrims returned to Jerusalem, and started at about four in the afternoon to visit Bethlehem, of which they noted the great wooden gates strengthened with iron as very magnificent. They went in procession to the chapel of St. Jerome, near which a number of the Holy Innocents were said to be buried in walled-up tombs in the rock, and from there to the chapel of the Nativity.

In the nave of the Basilica Pierre Mésenge was struck with amazement at the monolithic columns, wondering how they could have been transported in such a rough and mountainous country where camels and donkeys could only go with difficulty. Next day the pilgrims were shewn the burial-places of St. Paula and Eustochium in a ruined church a stone's throw from the Basilica. Half a league to the east the appearance of the angels to the shepherds was commemorated, and further off they saw the ruins of the monastery of St. Theodosius, described as usual by the name of St. Saba. The return to Jerusalem was made by Beit-Jala and the ruined church of St. Nicholas, on the site of the burial of St. Paul the first hermit and St. Eustace[1], and by 'Ain Karim, which seemed the most fertile spot in the Holy Land. Pierre Mésenge describes somewhat confusedly the church of the Visitation from which 27 steps lead up to the chapel of St. Zachary. In the lower church the hiding place of St. John the Baptist was shewn in the rock; four bow-shots away was a small wood in which he did penance. The church of St. John, two crossbow shots on the road to Jerusalem, was used by the Moslems as a stable for their donkeys and camels.

On the following Sunday, August 7, after having again spent the night in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the party set out for the Jordan with an escort of no less than 150 "*mamelus*" provided by an agent who perhaps profitted by exaggerating the difficulties and dangers of the journey. They reached the river at dawn, stripped themselves naked and bathed in it ; some swam across " to Arabia which is upon the other side." On the return journey they avoided the Dead Sea, for fear of the Bedouins, and came back by the ruined convent of the *Prodromos*. At Jericho they were more or less held to ransom by the half-negro cultivators of the oasis, and were badly used by their escort, but some of the more enterprising pilgrims climbed the Mountain of the Temptation. On the road home to Jerusalem they were hustled by their men, robbed by the donkey-boys, who charged them a high price for water grown tepid in the water-skins, and were made to pay in order to avoid spending a night in the desert. They only got back at eleven o'clock, but had a day's rest before spending a third night of watching at the Holy Sepulchre.

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[1] For a description of the Byzantine Crypt of this Church see *Revue Biblique*, 1923, p. 261.

On August 9, Pierre Mésenge took with him a dragoman and set out to see the manner of life of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. He was very anxious to visit the " Temple of Solomon," and offered forty ducats to two natives who promised to get him in if he would disguise himself as a " *mamelu* " and go by night, but he was dissuaded by the guardian of Mount Sion and others who warned him that he would be betrayed, and would run the risk of being put to death. He obtained however an account of what was in the Temple and its enclosure from a renegade Franciscan.

He gives a vivid description of the streets and bazaars of Jerusalem, and observes with astonishment that there are in the city two ovens in each of which they put five or six thousand eggs and make a moderate fire so that the chicks are hatched in three weeks, as if the hens had sat on the eggs, and then they sell them to those who wish to keep them. He also describes how the women go in bands of six or eight or ten to visit the tombs of their husbands or relations and make lamentation there and chant as if they were reciting the psalms. He notes that their conduct in very strange, but that nevertheless they shew great signs of devotion.

Of the procedure of the courts he observes that the Judge acts very judicially and summarily, and does rigorous justice against delinquents, of which, he adds, there is need, as the people are great thieves and very avaricious and inclined to all manner of fraud. They are so grasping that there is nothing they will not do to get money, and would rather die of hunger than spend a penny. Wherefore they are very miserable, because the "*mamelus*" take away from them all that they can earn and leave them not a penny that comes to their knowledge. Moreover the *mamelus* not only take their goods but use their wives and daughters at all times as they will.

The party of pilgrims left Jerusalem on August 12 and were hurried to Jaffa by an escort of 200 mamelukes. Setting sail on the 18th, they reach Venice on October 12, after touching at Beirut, Cyprus, Rhodes and Corfu, and Pierre Mésenge expresses their joy at having accomplished their voyage in safety, with no more putting out to sea where they had experienced so many troubles and annoyances.

G.M.F.G.

REVIEWS.

Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott. pp. 256. Three illustrations. 6s. net.

THESE reminiscences were dictated by Mrs. Finn, in 1913, when she was 88 years old, and she died eleven years later, at the venerable age of 96, her intellect unimpaired to the last.

Mrs. Finn was the daughter of the well-known Rev. Alexander McCaul, D.D., Professor of Hebrew at King's College, London. She was born at Warsaw, and had a strange educational upbringing, learning Hebrew even as a small child. She was married to Mr. Finn—himself a Hebrew scholar and Orientalist—January 2, 1846. A month later they started for Jerusalem, to which city Mr. Finn had been gazetted Consul by Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Minister.

The story of the journey of this newly wedded couple to Jerusalem is strange reading for us to-day. It took them, with no wilful delay on their part, from February 4th to April 7th, when they landed in Jaffa. They had many adventures, the most unpleasant of which being twelve days' quarantine at Beirut, under conditions so uncomfortable that they both became seriously ill. From 1846 till 1863, with apparently no single visit home, the Finn's lived a strenuous and adventurous life in Jerusalem. The period covers the time of strain and excitement of the Crimean War (there is a most vivid description of the wild enthusiasm in Jerusalem at the capture of Sevastopol) and of the massacres in the Lebanon. It is noticeable that even then while the French took over the protection of the Lebanon, it was the British fleet which saved an uprising in Palestine. There are personal descriptions of the Royal visits of H.R.H. Prince Alfred (later Duke of Edinburgh), of his elder brother, the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII.) and of the Duke of Brabant (afterwards King Leopold II. of Belgium), and his Duchess. The Finns also had to entertain many and various other distinguished guests during these years. We get glimpses of those intertribal fights between the fellahin, which are so fully and so graphically described in Mr. Finn's *Stirring Times*—in the writing of which Mrs. Finn had so large a share. There are several references to the "Jerusalem Literary and Scientific Society," founded by Mrs. Finn, which, in a sense, was a precursor of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and which flourished down to the outbreak of the Great War.*

Mrs. Finn makes many references to the rainfall, and it is remarkable what heavy falls of snow occurred in the early eighteen fifties, and, too, for how many were each spring the "Kidron flowed" *i.e.*, the water of Bir Eyyub flowed down the valley Wady en-nâr.

Altogether this is an intimate record of life in Jerusalem at a pecularly exciting and romantic time, and should be read by all those who have lived, or are living, in the Holy Land under the easy and comparatively safe conditions of the present day. The political position was most difficult. Part of the time the influence of the English Consul—supported as it was by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in Constantinople—appears to have been more influential than that of the quickly changing Turkish Pashas—men in many cases ignorant of Arabic, senile and inert—but at a later period the Pasha, backed by jealous European powers, appear to have laid themselves out to thwart the influence of Great Britain.

E. W. G. M.

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* The small balance of the funds remaining in the hands of the Hon. Secretary of the Jerusalem Literary and Scientific Society was paid over, after the War, to the Palestine Exploration Fund, the society having really ceased to exist. But the valuable minute books seem to have disappeared during the War. *If any one in Jerusalem knows where they are and would hand them over to the Palestine Exploration Fund for permanent preservation, the Hon. Secretary of the Fund would be most grateful.*

Meteorological Observations taken by the Palestine Government in 1928.

We acknowledge, with thanks, these valuable observations of temperature, humidity, rainfall and wind, taken at the stations at Gaza, Beersheba, Haifa, Jenin, Jericho, Jerusalem, Acre and Tel-Aviv. These figures give a scientific review of the meteorological conditions of Palestine of great value to both students and residents.

Tell el-Mutesellim. II. Band: die Funde, bearbeitet von Carl Watzinger. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1929. vi. + 94 pp. 80 figures.

This volume is designed to complete the publication of the excavation of Megiddo carried out by Dr. G. Schumacher in the years 1903–1905, of which the first volume, edited by Dr. C. Steuernagel, appeared in 1908.

Professor Dr. Watzinger must be congratulated on having acquitted himself well of a somewhat ungrateful task. He suffers from the disadvantage of not having been himself present at the excavation, and this is increased by the circumstance that the excavator's diary and field notes have been lost. Moreover, the methods employed in digging a site a quarter of a century ago were far from being as exact and informative as is usual at the present day. A comparison of the two volumes demonstrates the great advance that has been made in our knowledge of Palestinian archaeology since the beginning of this century; Dr. Watzinger is able to base his conclusions on evidence drawn from Gezer, 'Ain-Shems, Samaria, Shechem, Beisan and other sites in Palestine and from numerous sources outside, such as the French excavations of Byblos, the work of Evans and others in Crete and of Gjersted in Cyprus, and a great deal of new material from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece and the Ægean. Notes on the scarabs are furnished by Dr. Max Pieper.

The volume under review does not comprise a publication of new material; the pottery and other finds which form its subject-matter have already been described and illustrated in Volume I. and the portfolio of Plates which accompanied it. Dr. Watzinger's aim has been first to make a comparative study of particular objects and bring them into relation with finds from other sites and secondly to determine from the stratification of the material what dates should be assigned to the various levels which Dr. Schumacher distinguished. It is apparent, therefore, that the two volumes must be studied together, though the order in which the excavations are discussed in the first is not followed in the second.

Dr. Watzinger divides his study into two sections, of which the first is devoted to the Bronze Age levels of the two adjacent areas termed the "Mittelburg" and the "Nordburg," in which an earlier and a later period can be distinguished corresponding to Schumacher's 2nd and 3rd strata—the lowest levels which the excavation scarcely touched (the "1st stratum") being left out of account. Of the earlier period are two vaulted tombs (Grabkammer I. and II.), and traces of buildings which had been destroyed by fire. The contents of these tombs—pottery, alabaster and bronze, four scarabs from Tomb I. and a bronze stilus cased in glass from Tomb II.—are minutely examined and compared with material from other excavations, the conclusion being that this level is contemporary with Tomb I. at Gezer and may be dated to the 16th century B.C. (p. 9). A somewhat earlier date, before 1600, is given in the summary on p. 91.

A rebuilding followed close upon the destruction by fire of this earlier level, and the Mittelburg would appear to have been occupied till about 1400 B.C., after which date Dr. Watzinger concludes, from the absence of Mycenæan imports and of finds belonging to the Tell el-Amarna period, that this part of the site must have remained uninhabited for about two centuries.

In the adjoining area, the Nordburg, which likewise contains two Bronze Age strata, Dr. Watzinger distinguishes the earlier from the later burials and comes to the conclusion that the lower stratum of this area is exactly contemporary with that of the Mittelburg, and not, as Schumacher believed, merely of approximately the same period. There is no sign of a conflagration between the two levels of the Nordburg, but the rebuilding seems to have taken place in each of these areas at about the same time. It appears, however, that the occupation of the Nordburg continued till a later period in the Late Bronze Age, and it is possible that this part of the site was never completely deserted (cf. p. 56).

In his Second section, dealing with the Iron Age, Dr. Watzinger begins with an analysis of the finds from a layer of burnt debris, which he believes to indicate the destruction of Megiddo by the

Pharaoh Shishak in 926 B.C. Among the objects discussed with considerable fulness, we may note five bronze stands or candlesticks which the author believes to be of local manufacture under Western, perhaps Cypriote influence. Faience objects representing a lion, an ape and a duck are held to be of Phœnician rather than Egyptian origin. The pottery includes fragments which invite comparison with the cylindrical cult-objects of Assur and Beth-Shan, and a stand crowned with drooping palm leaves in which Dr. Watzinger detects Assyrian influence. It may be observed in passing that he adopts Galling's view that the common vessels in the shape of a cup and saucer made in one piece were intended as incense burners.

Below the burnt layer are the so-called Südtor (held not to be a town gate) and remains of the upper part of the 3rd and of the 4th stratum above the Nordburg and Mittelburg. The finds here are not of great intrinsic interest; they are carefully compared with analogous material from elsewhere and shewn to belong to the Early Iron Age, though the presence of three scarabs of the 18th Dynasty (p. 52) is left unexplained. A consideration of the masonry of the house called the Südtor suggests to Dr. Watzinger that Megiddo may have been rebuilt and fortified by King Solomon about 950 B.C., only to be ruined again by Shishak a quarter of a century later. Among the more notable objects are a bronze dagger (dated to about the 10th century) a fragment of a tubular ring with small amphoræ attached (a vessel to which the name kernos is generally, but in the author's opinion, incorrectly applied), and three fibulæ for which the 10th century would be a possible date. The building known as the Palace belongs to the period following the destruction attributed to Shishak. On the analogy of Samaria and on historical grounds, Dr. Watzinger is disposed to attribute it to about the beginning of the 9th century, though the terra-cotta figures and pottery found in it may belong to a later period of occupation, nearer the time of its destruction by the Assyrians in the 8th century. The well-known seals bearing the names "Asaph" and "Shema' servant of Jeroboam," together with a limestone seal with animals and gryphons in three registers, are discussed and considered to be at earliest of the 8th century. The author adopts the view that the first-named is of Syro-Phœnician origin and sees traces of North Syrian-Hittite influences upon the two others.

Turning to other portions of the excavations, Dr. Watzinger observes that in the room with Massebas east of the Palace and in the complex of houses called the Tempelburg we can perhaps trace levels contemporary with the Palace as well as somewhat later ones. In dealing with Schumacher's 6th stratum he brings out clearly that the excavator must have failed to keep separate the finds of several levels and of very diverse ages. Upon the available evidence it appears that the city of Megiddo fell (in 733 B.C.) into the hands of the Assyrians who occupied and partly rebuilt it, and from whom it passed under Babylonian and Persian domination. After about 350 B.C. there is no evidence that the site was ever occupied ; the population apparently deserted Tell el-Mutesellim and moved southward to a new settlement on lower ground.

From the foregoing summary, it will be seen that the author has been able to make a coherent reconstruction of the history of Megiddo. His conclusions will be tested by the more elaborate excavations which Mr. Guy is now carrying on for the University of Chicago, but even if some of them prove untenable, this volume will retain its value on account of the industry which has been lavished on so many points of minute detail.

G. M. F. G.

Volume ix. of the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (for 1927-28) contains a report by Prof. Elihu Grant of the excavations at Beth-Shemesh in 1928 (see *Q.S.* 1929, pp. 201-10). Traces were found of occupation from 2000 B.C. to 700 B.C. A perfect and fine Astarte plaque was found : face partly ram-like, and lotus in one hand and papyrus leaf in the other, "over the left shoulder descends a serpent with its head on the left thigh of the goddess." This last is quite a unique feature, and adds to the evidence for serpent cults which have been found at Beth-Shan and elsewhere. The plaque is tentatively dated round about 1400 B.C. Among the illustrations to the article are two fluted-handle jugs with snake ornamentation, and a third with a conventional development of it on the handle. These were found in the "Second Cemetery." In the "First Cemetery" was a great variety of ware noteworthy for its colouring and shape ; a flask, the shape of a powder horn or cornucopia, seems unique. Prof. Grant confirms Dr. Duncan Mackenzie's discovery of successive destructions of Beth-Shemesh by fire. There seems to have been no city wall after about 1100 B.C., "perhaps synchronous with the seizure of the town by the Hebrews." Egyptian influence was strong in all periods, but in the Late Bronze Age the more northerly and north-westerly influences begin and increase. Importations from the Mediterranean grow in number, and were imitated locally. Prof. Grant writes :—

> "The burst of invention and colour on the threshold of the Iron Age must have been immensely popular throughout these interrelated markets. When the easy trade relations with the island world were cramped, the later and local Iron Age products took on a leathery utility in appearance which marks the ware in the age of the great prophets. The ceramics of Canaan are eloquent of the historical changes in political fortune and social composition."

In the same volume of the *Annual* Prof. E. A. Speiser describes the preliminary excavations at Tepe Gawra in Northern Iraq near Khorsabad, with numerous illustrations. In the course of an investigation into the early pottery problems and the prehistoric sites he was able to establish an unbroken series of sites containing prehistoric remains, extending from the Turkish border north of Mosul, down to the south-east about 50 miles past Kerkuk without arriving at the terminus at either point. Among the objects of interest were certain votive offerings, one a sort of covered wagon (p. 34, fig. 97) which recalls the considerably later wheeled coffer found depicted at the synagogue of Capernaum (cf. *Q.S.* 1926, p. 19 and plate). Upon the complicated questions of ethnological relations Prof. Speiser writes cautiously, for it is too early yet to determine very clearly how to apportion the Semitic, Aryan, Caucasian, and other influences which the archæologists and anthropologists are endeavouring to identify. In the temple or shrine were found a pair of clay horns with holes presumably for suspension, and a phallic object with distinct imitation of circumcision (pp. 33, 48 sq., figs. 89, 104-5). Both are unique. The former, of course, recalls the Cretan "horns of consecration" and other parallels; the latter seems to point to Semitic invaders, who, in course of time, were influenced by the Sumerians, to whom circumcision was foreign.

Father Dhorme, in the January issue of the *Revue Biblique,* p. 132, gives a most interesting summary of an account which MM. Schaeffer and Chenet have published of the firstfruits of their excavations north of Latakiyeh (Laodicaea). On the Tell Ras-Shamra was found a royal palace and necropolis dating somewhere about 1200 B.C., with traces of a fine culture which had been suddenly and methodically destroyed. Among the finds were a bronze Horus-hawk, a statuette of the god Resheph of familiar type, a nude Astarte on a golden pendant with a lotus in each hand, and other clear signs of Egyptian influence. [M. Montet, elsewhere in the same issue (p. 20) speaks of a stele representing an Egyptian adoring Set (= Sutekh of Ḏpn (cf. Baal-Zephon).] In the necropolis were vaulted chambers, passages, etc., comparable to the Ægean and Mycenæan tombs. Along with Mycenæan, Cypriote and Egyptian objects was a splendid ivory casket on the lid of which was depicted a seated goddess closely resembling the great goddesses of fertility of Cnossus and Tiryns. But, as Father Dhorme remarks, perhaps the most noteworthy of all the discoveries were clay tablets from the palace covered with cuneiform signs, not of the usual type, but simpler and fewer, thus recalling the way in which many centuries later the Achaemenid Persians simplified the cumbersome cuneiform syllabary. We have, it seems, an alphabet, "for only an alphabet can explain so inconsiderable a number of signs." The excavations, in fact, furnish another illustration of the extent to which the petty kingdoms in this corner of Syria were exposed to the diverse Egyptian, Cypriote and Assyrian influences. In conclusion Father Dhorme tentatively suggests that this Ras-Shamra may be—in spite of the different sibilants—the famous Sumur mentioned in the Amarna Letters. In any event, he agrees—and all will agree— with the fortunate excavators when they say that " quite a new page of Oriental history is opening out before us." We shall look forward with keen expectancy to their further reports. This part of northern Syria is specially famous in the eighth century, when important North Semitic (Phœnician, Aramaic, etc.) inscriptions were found in and near Senjirli; and the simpler cuneiform writing referred to above is undoubtedly of no little significance for the solution of the problems, not only of the invention of the alphabet, but also of its extension so far north as this locality.

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has issued *Communications*, some of which have reached us. They are edited by the eminent Egyptologist, James Breasted, who contributes highly interesting forewords. In No. 3 Dr. Sandford and Mr. W. J. Arkell (of Oxford) give their first report of their prehistoric survey expedition in Egypt. To quote Prof. Breasted : " The fundamentals of the geology of the Nile Valley are beginning to emerge. Such things as the discovery of the southern terminus of the prehistoric Nile lake or gulf, the recognition of the five river terraces, and the discovery of early Palæolithic implements embedded in and contemporaneous with the 100-foot terrace, are outstanding illustrations of the kind of fact and observation which we have hitherto lacked." The enormous age of man in the Nile Valley is now obvious. Stratigraphically dated handiwork was also found—for the first time—in the Red Sea region.

No. 5 deals with the Institute's work at the great temple and palace of Medinet Habu, 1924-28 ; the epigraphic survey of the temple and the architectural survey of temple and palace being written by Harold Nelson and Uvo Hoelscher, respectively. Many of the records of the temple had remained entirely unpublished, and those that had been copied in the past were incomplete. Their subject-matter is of unique interest, " revealing to us at it does, for the first time, the emergence of Europe as an influential power in the political and military arena of the ancient Oriental world." Dr. Nelson sketches the historical situation at the great changes of the XIVth-XIIth centuries B.C., as the hordes of barbarians overthrew Minoans and Hittites and reached Egypt itself. He gives some new and excellent reproductions of the scenes, showing foreign mercenaries, " Philistines," " Sherden," and other invaders. We note the peculiar manacles in the form of a fish (fig. 5), the way in which the sculptures were corrected (fig. 15 sqq.), the realistic face of the slain Philistine (fig. 21), and a unique representation of the branding of prisoners taken in battle (fig. 25).

In No. 6 H. H. Von der Osten describes the Institute's explorations in Hittite Asia Minor, 1927-28. Once more the historical background is, to a significant part at least, that of the clash between west and east. The account is well illustrated and gives a good idea of some of the new archæological discoveries, *e.g.*, the huge Hittite lion (p. 71 sq.), the libation scene (figs. 102 sq.), with the chariot the body of which is in the form of an eagle (p. 92), the winged demon (fig. 105), and the bull on the mountains (fig. 106). A large conical tumulus to which the natives ascribe great power of healing diseases is a survival of a very old mountain cult (p. 118). At Aghaza Kaleh was a large Græco-Aramaic inscription (fig. 143) ;

it is the one published in the *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*, vol. ii., No. 954, of which a better copy has now been obtained. The rich mineral region of north-east Anatolia bordering on the Black Sea is still practically a *terra incognita* ; the mines have been exploited from prehistoric times, and there are traces of settlements with Cyclopean walls, and of a people, the Lazis, perhaps a remnant of the oldest population (p. 130 sq.). In general, the expedition succeeded in discovering and investigating numerous ancient sites. The settlements were especially important east of Boghaz-Keui and between Ankara and Kirshehir. The mound of Alishar proved an invaluable guide to the cultural history of Asia Minor, and the discovery of a series of skeletons (elsewhere) may, it is to be hoped, throw light upon the ethnological questions.

S.A.C.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

Died

ON THE 25TH MAY, 1930.

ARCHBISHOP LORD DAVIDSON.

President of the Society.

It is with deep regret that we have to record the death of our President, who succeeded Dr. Temple in 1903, and has throughout been keenly interested in the work of the Fund. Tribute was paid to him at the Annual Meeting, which is recorded below (p. 115).

We are glad to state that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York have kindly consented to become respectively President and Vice-President of the P.E.F.

The office of the P.E.F. will be closed during the month of August, re-opening on Monday, September 1st. Letters posted to the office during that month will be forwarded by the Post Office, but matters of special urgency may be addressed to Dr. E. W. G. Masterman (Hon. Sec. P.E.F.), St. Giles' Hospital, Camberwell, S.E.5.

The Sixty-fifth Annual General Meeting of the Fund was held on Thursday, June 29, at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W. Dr. H. R. Hall, F.B.A., etc., presided, and Prof. John Garstang gave an account of his recent excavations at Jericho. The Chairman referred to the recent death of the President of the Fund, Archbishop Lord Davidson, and his personal interest in Palestine and the Fund's work. He had twice presided at the Annual Meeting, in 1905 and 1915. His Grace, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, was invited to become President, and the Archbishop of York, Vice-President. The Chairman referred to the plan for a closer co-operation between the Fund and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, particulars of which were published in the *Q.S.* of last April. He also stated that Sir Charles Marston had expressed his willingness to help the Fund again by contributing a part of the expenses of a short season of excavation, details to be settled next month. The proposal that the Fund should join with the Board of Oriental Studies of Harvard University in excavating Sebastiyeh, the site of Samaria, was mentioned: the invitation is an exceedingly attractive one, but it depends on the result of the Fund's appeal for new or increased subscriptions. The name of Lady Watson, widow of Colonel Sir Charles M. Watson, who for so many years was actively connected with the Fund, was unanimously added to the General Committee. A full account of the Meeting is given in this issue. Prof. Garstang's paper will be found on pp. 123-132,

We understand that the University of Pennsylvania proposes to resume its excavations at Beisan (Beth-shan), and that Mr. G. M. FitzGerald has been asked to act as Director for the next season.

Professor Sir Flinders Petrie's annual exhibition of antiquities is being held at University College, Gower Street, on week-days from July 7th to 26th, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., and on two evenings, July 15th and 25th, 6.30-8 p.m. Lantern lectures on the recent discoveries of the British School of Archæology in Egypt at Beth-Pelet, Palestine, were delivered by Sir Flinders in May, and have given some indication of the many interesting finds that are now being exhibited. It may be recalled that this year is the fiftieth of his invaluable research, and is being appropriately celebrated.

Annual No. 5 (see advertisement on back cover of *Quarterly Statement*) contains Mr. Crowfoot's report of his work at Ophel and the Tyropoeon Valley during the excavating season of 1927. He was assisted by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald, Assistant-Director of the British School of Archæology, who has written the second part of the book dealing with the pottery and smaller finds, while Mr. Crowfoot describes the buildings and levels, analysing the stratification of the site from the earliest times to the Arab Conquest and the Crusading period. The volume contains as frontispiece the Old Gate from the north-west, 22 other plates, and 21 illustrations, there are 131 pages of letterpress and an index. Price 31s. 6d. to non-members.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archæology in Egypt dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

Miss C. M. Finn has kindly presented 500 copies of *Palestine Peasantry : Notes on their Clans, Warfare, Religion and Laws*, being a reprint of the work of her mother, the late Mrs. E. A. Finn who, with Consul Finn lived in Palestine for over seventeen years and devoted much time to a study of the social divisions and conditions of the inhabitants some fifty or more years ago, and argues that the modern Arab Fellahin are descendants of the ancient Canaanites. This interesting little book of 95 pages is on sale at 7*d*. per copy, post free.

Antiques for Sale.—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates, including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

Mr. H. C. Luke's translation and annotation of a 16th century MS., under the title of *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land*, is on sale at 4*s*. bound in cloth, and 2*s*. 6*d*. in paper covers.

The new plan of Jerusalem on a scale of approximately 1 : 5000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5*s.*; mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9*s.* The latter form is the more convenient, as owing to its size the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

The library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains some duplicate volumes. They may be purchased, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions from :—

	£	s.	d.
G. R. Driver, Esq. (for P.E.F. and B.S.A.J.)	5	0	0
Melville Gray, Esq.	4	0	0
Rev. J. Hewetson	3	3	0
Stewart Margetson, Esq.	3	3	0
Robert T. Morris, Esq.	1	1	0
H. St. G. Walsh, Esq.	0	10	6
Dr. Percy D'Erf Wheeler	0	10	6

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following gifts:—

From Miss Finn.—A framed portrait of the late Lord Kitchener, and framed large scale drawing of the Seal of Haggai, son of Shebniah. Also a complete set (3 vols.) of Dr. Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine, 1838 and 1852.

From the Misses Hope.—A collection of P.E.F. books, including volumes of the *Quarterly Statement.*

The *Annual Report*, with Accounts and List of Subscriptions for 1929 was issued to Members of the P.E.F. with the April number.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth is £15 15s. Subscriber's price £14 14s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5 except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m. (See Holiday Notice, p. 107).

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Randall, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund (see address on cover).

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Near East and India, April 10. The "Great Burnings" of Meiron, by H. C. Luke.

Annals of Art and Archaeology.

The Expository Times, May. The "Cambridge Ancient History" and The Old Testament, I., by W. M. Mathieson.

Antiquity, A Quarterly Review of Archaeology, March.

The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, lix., 1929.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, March.

The Antiquaries Journal, April.

The New Judæa.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Homiletic Review.

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, No. 4. The excavation of Armageddon, by C. S. Fisher, No. 7, Medinet Habu studies, ii, by U. Hölscher and J. A. Wilson.

The American Journal of Philology.

Geographical Review (U.S.A.)

The Journal of Society of Oriental Research, October.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, April.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, December. The synagogue of the Herodians, by H. J. Leon.

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1928.

The University of Pennsylvania, Museum Bulletin, i.3, March.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, February.

Syria, vol. x, part iv., 1929. The excavations at Minet el-Beida and Ras Shamra, by F. A. Schaeffer, with a note by René Dussaud. The tablets of Ras Shamra by C. Virolleaud, The Heliopolitan triad and the temples of Baalbek, by H. Seyrig, etc.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique, 1929, i. The sanctuary of the Egyptian gods at Philippi, by P. Collart, etc.

Revue Biblique, April. The Amorites by P. Dhorme; the German excavations at Rāmet el-Khalil, by A. E. Mader; Saint-Pierre en Gallicante, by H. Vincent; the synagogues of Jerash and Beth-Alpha, and the chapel at the convent of S. Euthymius, by A. Barrois.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, March. The excavations in Dura-Europos by P. Koschaker.

Palästina-Jahrbuch, 1929. Sennacherib in Palestine, by W. Rudolph ; the territorial consequences, by Alt ; a Jewish-Christian monument in Transjordania ? by the same ; Roman roads and stations round about Jerusalem, by Kuhl and Meinhold.

Archir fur Orientforschung, vi, i. Problems of Egyptian Pre-history, by Von Bissing; summaries of recent excavations (with illustrations).

Litteræ Orientales : xlii., April (Harrassowitz, Leipzig). The Problem of Old Persian art, by O. G. von Wesendonk.

Göttngische Gelehrte Anzeigen.

Zeitschrift f.d. Alttest. Wissenschaft, 1930, 1. A non-Israelite source of Genesis, by R. H. Pfeiffer ; Hebrew proper names by H. Bauer problems of Israel-Judean religion by J. Kaufmann.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Paalstina-Vereins liii. Samaria, by the late Dr. V. Schwöbel (edited by Prof. Steuernagel) ; the Sinaitic peninsula, new scientific investigations by A. Kaiser.

Der Künstler der Mosaikkarte v. Madaba. From the *Byzantin. Zeitschr.* 1923, pp. 597 sqq. By Peter Thomsen.

Archiv Orientalni : *Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute*(Prague) ii.1. Der Gottgefällige Mord, by Wesselski.

Report of the Proceedings for the Constitution of the International Mediterranean Research Association of Rome.

Bulletino dell' Associazione Internazionale Degli Studi Mediterranei, Rome.

Biblica, Jan.-March. The excavations of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in the valley of the Jordan, by A. Mallon ; the site of the Pentapolis, by E. Power ; the Biblical Chronology of the viiith. cent. B.C., by H. Hänsler.

Bulletin de l' Academie des Sciences de l' Urss, 1929.

Al-Mashrik, March. The Phœnicians and their neighbours, by M. Shéhab.

La Revue de l'Academie Arabe.

Bible Lands, April.

The Ancient Synagogue of Beth-Alpha, by A. L. Sukenik (Modern Hebrew).

From Mr. Pilcher : *Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society.*

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.
The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.
Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.
K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837).
Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson, Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath* already in the Library ; subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of ——— to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

65TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE 65th Annual General Meeting of the Fund was held at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W.1, on Thursday, 12th June, 1930, when H. R. HALL, Esq., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., etc. (Chairman of the Executive Committee) presided, and Prof. John Garstang gave an account, illustrated by lantern slides, of his recent excavations at Jericho.

Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN (Hon. Secretary) read the Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, held on July 1st, 1929, and these, having been confirmed, were signed by the Chairman.

Apologies regretting inability to be present were received from Field-Marshal Viscount Plumer, Sir George Adam Smith, the Bishop of Gloucester, the Bishop of Hereford, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, and Dr. S. A. Cook.

The CHAIRMAN : Before I invite Professor Garstang to give his address there are certain formalities which must be gone through in connection with elections and the presentation of the Annual Report. Before proceeding to that business, however, I have to report the recent death of the President of the Fund, Archbishop Lord Davidson. I need hardly say more than that among the various bodies and societies with which Lord Davidson was connected none was nearer his heart than the Palestine Exploration Fund. He was always interested in the work of the Fund, as he was in every other work with which he was connected. He had been President since 1903, when he succeeded, as you know, Archbishop Temple, who died in 1902. When asked to become President of the Fund in succession to the previous Archbishop, Archbishop Davidson wrote : " Most gladly do I accept the Presidency of the Palestine Exploration Fund. I know its work and I value it exceedingly." In 1875, during the early years of the Fund, he had himself visited Palestine. In those days he saw a good deal of the work of our pioneers, Conder and Kitchener and others, and he maintained his interest in the work of the Fund right up to the end. He presided at the Annual Meeting in 1905 and again in 1915. May I ask you to stand for a moment in silence.

The meeting stood in silent tribute to the memory of Archbishop Lord Davidson.

The CHAIRMAN: I have now to propose: "That His Grace the present Archbishop of Canterbury be invited to become President in succession to Archbishop Lord Davidson." That is carrying on the succession which was started by Archbishop Temple and continued by Lord Davidson and, we hope, will be carried on by His Grace the present Archbishop. And I also propose: "That the Archbishop of York be invited to become Vice-President."

Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN: I would like to second that. I know that His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury is deeply interested in our work. The Archbishop of York knows Palestine well, and will, I am sure, be a most worthy successor to the outgoing Vice-President, the present Archbishop of Canterbury.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, moving the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1929, issued to Members in April last, and which it was agreed to take as read, said:—

You will see, as indicated in the Report, that the Fund has conducted no excavations on its own account since Mr. Crowfoot completed the filling-in of his work on Ophel, in January, 1929. Dr. Masterman gave at the last Annual Meeting a general outline of the history of the site and a *résumé* of the researches thereon up to date, and there can be but little to add to this until further excavations are made.

Mr. Crowfoot has indicated to the Committee the necessity of further tracing out of the line of the old walls, both northwards and southwards: considerable sections having been laid bare on the east and west boundaries, while the researches of the past six years have conclusively defined the various periods of occupation. Nothing of a truly sensational character has come to light, and the whereabouts of the "Tombs of the Kings of Judah"—which many consider the primary attraction of the site—is still a matter for speculation. Mr. Crowfoot did light across a system of rock-cut chambers, but in the absence of definite proofs as to the antiquity of their origin, he wisely declined to announce them as tombs.

Subscribers are well aware that the cost of these excavations has been largely borne by Sir Charles Marston, to whom we all owe our grateful thanks. Early in 1929 it was evident that, with heavy liabilities pending for printing and issuing to Members the results of the previous work, the Committee would have to call a halt with the excavations—an inevitable procedure throughout the long history of the Fund. Later on, Sir Charles Marston again expressed his willingness to help by contributing a part of the expenses of a short season, and this, it is hoped, may be carried out during the coming autumn. The locality and details will be discussed with Mr. Crowfoot when he returns to England next month.

A closer co-operation between the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem has been under consideration for some time, it being deemed advisable in the interests of both. The very existence of the School is threatened through lack of funds, and those of the Palestine Exploration Fund are quite inadequate for any continuous programme of work. Those Members who attended the Annual General Meeting of the School, in October last, will recollect the eloquent appeal made by His Grace the present Archbishop of Canterbury, who presided, backed up by Lord Plumer and others, that some means be found of averting this calamity. That appeal is reported in the January, 1930, number of the *Quarterly Statement.*

As a result of the careful deliberations of the Committees of the two societies, a scheme of closer co-operation was devised, particulars of which were fully published in the *Quarterly Statement* of April last. They now need the ratification of this meeting. A form of joint appeal was issued at the same time, and will be made widespread use of in the near future.

Members have already been notified of a proposal that the Fund join with the Board of Oriental Studies of Harvard University in excavating Sebastiyeh, the site of Samaria. Whether we shall be able to accept this attractive offer is contingent on the result of the appeal to our Members to increase their subscriptions, to special donations, and to an extension of the list of Members.

The incorporation in the pages of our *Quarterly Statement* of the Bulletin of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem has proved mutually beneficial. It supplies valuable "copy" to the Palestine Exploration Fund's *Quarterly Statement*, and, under the new arrangement now put forward, it relieves the School of the considerable item of expenditure in printing a separate periodical. Notable contributions under this arrangement have been: Mr. Crowfoot's Reports on his discoveries among the classical ruins of Jerash; Miss Dorothy Garrod's work in the pre-historic field, Mr. D. J. Chitty's Early Monastic Researches, and Dr. Hanbury Hankin's work on the mosaics of Khan el-Ahmar.

Excellent relations are maintained between the Palestine Exploration Fund and the many other Societies now working in Palestine, as is evidenced by the generous reports on their work which we publish from time to time by the courtesy of their Directors. For example, Beisan (Beth Shan), by Alan Rowe, Director of the Palestine Expedition of the University Museum, Pennsylvania, published in the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1929, with a large number of fine photographs. Prof. Elihu Grant keeps us informed as to his work for Haverford College, Pennsylvania, at Ain Shems, the site of Beth Shemesh, where Dr. Duncan Mackenzie conducted excavations for the Palestine Exploration Fund prior to the war. Professor W. Badé, of the Pacific School of Religion, Los Angeles, has reported on his work at Tell en-Nasbeh, identified as the Hebrew fortress of Mizpah. Besides these, the system of exchange journals, with other societies of kindred interests, such as the American School at Jerusalem, enables our editor, Dr. Stanley Cook, to keep us closely in touch with their work by means of his notices and reviews. Further, Mr. Gerald FitzGerald has made interesting contributions on the Stone Age in Palestine, in connection with Miss Garrod's discoveries, and on other subjects. A notable article on a subject of absorbing interest was Dr. Alan Gardiner's on the Sinai script and the origin of the alphabet. In connection with this, I wish to inform those Members of the Society who are not already aware of it, that the French excavators at Ras esh-Shamra, near Latakiya, have recently discovered tablets of the fourteenth cent. B.C. written in a previously unknown alphabetic modification of the cuneiform script, resembling in this respect the Persian cuneiform of nearly a thousand years later, but quite independent of and differing considerably from it in details. This remarkable discovery should have considerable influence on our views as to the origin of the Semitic alphabet.[1]

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[1] See *Q.S.*, April, p. 104.

We hope, in the next number of the *Quarterly Statement*, to publish some account of Mr. P. L. O. Guy's work at the great site of Megiddo, which he is excavating for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

This afternoon Professor Garstang is to give an account of the excavations at Jericho which he has recently been able to carry out through the munificence of Sir Charles Marston. (Applause.)

Sir CHARLES MARSTON : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report. I wish we could have more support. In fact, I hope we shall have more. I think that the kind of thing we are investigating is of very great importance at the present day, and I trust that within the next twelve months or so there will be a more general realisation than at present of the importance of excavating both in Palestine and in the adjoining countries. I do not propose to say more because I am sure we are all very anxious to hear Professor Garstang.

The Report and Accounts were then unanimously adopted.

Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN : I wish to be extremely brief, but for the sake of those who may not have read the last *Quarterly Statement* and our Appeal, I want to make a short explanation of what it is all about. In going about I have found people greatly confused between the two bodies, the old Palestine Exploration Fund and the newer British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. Some thought one had succeeded the other ; there was a feeling that money going to one was lost to the other. Now, last year a possible amalgamation was thought of, and though it is not possible here to go into all the *pros.* and *cons.* I may say that those who were most interested in both societies met together and, after thoroughly going into the matter, came to the conclusion that amalgamation would not do good. Each Society has its own sphere. On the other hand, at the meeting of the School of Archæology, in October, last year, when His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury presided, there was a suggestion that there ought to be better co-operation. We do feel that co-operation is essential because we are not going to have rivalry. The School is the daughter of the Palestine Exploration Fund inasmuch as the founders were people very largely connected with the Fund.

The line we have gone on is this: we have a Joint Advisory Council of the two bodies, and all questions of co-operation and help, both in getting subscriptions and in work, will be considered by that Joint Council. The two societies are thus as intimately connected as we can be, and we want each to do the other good. I hope it has been made plain in the circular now issued that by helping one society you are helping the other. We would like Members to belong to both. The only difficulty at this moment is, that here is a meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and we want more money for the Fund just now. Nevertheless, I can assure you that what you give to the Fund is a help to the School, which is in extremely low water. On the other hand, we have had co-operation from the School in the way of having their Director to help us in our work; we had that co-operation in Professor Garstang's time, at the beginning of things, and we have had it since Dr. Crowfoot has been working. I hope we may always have it. The gist of the whole matter is that both bodies want help. The *Quarterly Statement* is largely issued with a view to informing people what is being done, and I trust that all present are friends of the Palestine Exploration Fund and that they will try to pass this information on to other friends. If we could only get a few hundred pounds more how much we might be able to do; I know it is the same cry with all societies but, still, we always hope that somebody will be moved to see the importance of our work. All I now have to ask you who are Members of the Palestine Exploration Fund is that you will ratify by your votes the agreement that has been entered into as to a Joint Advisory Council.

Colonel SIR CHARLES CLOSE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I beg leave to second the proposal that this meeting should ratify the existence of the Joint Advisory Council of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem.

I should like, as Treasurer of the Fund, to make one point perfectly clear, namely, that this involves no extra subscription by existing Members of or Subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund. That is specially safeguarded, for in the terms of our agreement is the statement that "All existing Subscribers to the

Palestine Exploration Fund will retain their present privileges." But we should be very glad if all existing subscribers, or as many as can afford it, would raise their subscriptions (which in many cases are now only one guinea) to two guineas. If that is done we shall be in a much happier position.

The meeting then unanimously ratified the appointment of the Joint Advisory Council.

Mr. C. E. **Howlett** formally moved and Mr. G. M. **FitzGreald** seconded the re-election of the Executive Committee as at present constituted, with the addition of the name of Professor Garstang, and this was unanimously agreed.

Brig.-General E. M. **Paul** (late R.E.) then proposed the addition to the General Committee of the name of Lady Watson, widow of that distinguished officer of the Royal Engineers, Colonel Sir Charles M. Watson, K.C.M.G., who had a great deal to do with Egypt, Palestine and the Palestine Exploration Fund during many years of service on the active and retired list. Lady Watson had continued her interest for many years and to support the Fund in a very practical manner. She now lived in Jerusalem, and as the Representative of the Fund there, not only had she gathered in funds annually, but had also presented furniture for use in the London Office, and in many other ways at different times had given practical help and assistance. The speaker had additional pleasure in making the proposition because it was Sir Charles Watson who first introduced him as a young officer in 1887 to the merits and value of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Thus he had a strong personal link therewith, and for this reason thought it was appropriate for him to propose that Lady Watson be a Member of the General Committee; he felt sure that the proposition would be welcomed by all subscribers and receive the hearty support of those present.

The Chairman claimed the privilege of being allowed to second the proposition and, on being put to the vote, it was carried unanimously.

Professor Garstang then gave his address on his recent excavations at Jericho. (This will be found printed separately, in this number, pp. 123-132.)

Sir **Donald Macalister** : May I be allowed to intervene to perform what seems to me a most necessary duty, namely, to propose a sincere vote of thanks to the Chairman, to Professor Garstang, and to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries for the use of the room in which we have met this afternoon, Professor Garstang has given us much to think about. I will not detain you further, but ask you to perform what I take it you regard as your duty and your privilege.

Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN seconded the vote of thanks, and it was accorded amid hearty applause.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you. I am sure we all thank Professor Garstang very much indeed for his most interesting lecture. The vase he has called attention to is of Mycenaean (L.M.III) or imitation Mycenaean pottery which certainly cannot be earlier than 1350 B.C., and possibly dates from the thirteenth century, towards the time of the Philistines. It is not, however, I think, proper Philistine pottery; it should date somewhat before their invasion. Its discovery in the position stated by Dr. Garstang, and the fact that no Mycenaean pottery was found in the Bronze Age stratum shew that the destruction of Jericho took place about 1400 B.C., the precise date of the invasion of Palestine by the Khabiru, who are usually identified with the Hebrews, an invasion which we read about in the famous Tell el-Amarna letters.

I will not add more, except to thank Sir Donald Macalister, who fully expressed our views when he said our lecturer had given us much to think about during the course of his most interesting discourse.

The proceedings then terminated.

JERICHO.

SIR CHARLES MARSTON'S EXPEDITION OF 1930.

By Prof. John Garstang, M.A., D.Sc., B.Litt.

Excavations made twenty years ago on the site of old Jericho by Drs. Sellin and Watzinger, brought to light two main systems of fortifications. The one consisted of a sloping stone wall or revetment at the foot of the mound, which it enclosed; the other comprised a double brick wall upon the higher ground at the top of the slope. The area enclosed by the stone rampart, following the lower contour of the Tell, was approximately twelve acres, and roughly oval in shape. It seems to have reached out on the east side so as to enclose the spring, but the construction of a modern road at the foot of the mound, between the water and the Tell, interferes with the investigation of that side. The area enclosed by the upper system of defence was not much more than half the other, and was more rectangular in shape. Its double wall enclosed only the top of the mound, following the brink in a more or less regular line, turning only the south-western corner in a curve.

It will be permitted for me to say, after this lapse of time, and a recent close study of the site, that their fruitful excavation, conducted with the most conscientious care, and crowned with epoch-making discoveries, was still of the nature of a pioneer effort. The interpretation of the archæological results was no easy matter. The systematic classification of the pottery and other archæological data from Palestinian sites was at that time only in its infancy; it was necessary for the excavators to go far afield for comparative materials, to compare the pottery which was found with types from Egypt, Cyprus and elsewhere, and the architecture with that of Mesopotamia and the Hittite area of the north, in order to establish a basis for their dates. It is not, then, a matter for comment that there arose some doubt at the time about the dates of the main fortifications; and Dr. Watzinger, some years ago, did not hesitate, on scientific grounds, to reinterpret the evidence in the light of modern results. The stone revetment formerly attributed to the Israelite occupation of the site, he now correctly assigned to the Middle Bronze Age[1]; but he remained convinced that the brick walls upon the higher level belonged to a still earlier epoch. It resulted that the first half of the Late Bronze Age, which proves elsewhere in Palestine to have been one of the most active periods in the history of the Canaanites, was not represented by any fortifications at all.

While this re-classification and re-interpretation contributed greatly towards the final solution of the chief problem, the dating of the walls, the latter part of Dr. Watzinger's conclusion still seemed open to considerable doubt. On general grounds it was difficult to understand how walls built at considerably higher levels could antedate those which lay at the foot of the slope, and were almost buried below the ground. The reverse process would seem more normal, and is, indeed, illustrated by observation on numerous sites. Moreover, it seemed unlikely that a city occupying a position of some strategic importance could lie unfortified, if not actually in ruins, during the whole of the Late Bronze Age, a period which witnessed, as we have said, a notable activity in other Canaanitish centres, corresponding in this respect to the picture of the country derived from contemporary Egyptian sources. Other technical objections to the conclusions were put forward by those competent to judge, and the matter remained a subject of controversy and perplexity, particularly to students of Bible history, for, as is well known, the Late Bronze Age covers the period of Joshua. It was for this reason that in 1927 Sir Charles Marston asked me to re-examine the site, and to this end full facilities were readily accorded by the Director of Antiquities. Fortunately I was able to compare

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[1] The following nomenclature and classification, based chiefly on the characteristic ceramic types of the several periods, is now used by most archæologists working in Palestine, and is followed in this report. Needless to say, the dates and years are only approximations, becoming less certain with increase of age.

Early Iron Age	ii	B.C. 600- 900
	i	B.C. 900-1200
Late Bronze Age	ii	B.C. 1200-1400
	i	B.C. 1400-1600
Middle Bronze Age	ii	B.C. 1600-1800
	i	B.C. 1800-2000
Early Bronze Age		B.C. 2000-2500

notes with Dr. Albright, then Director of the American School. As a result of a brief investigation of the stratifications, it appeared that Dr. Watzinger was undoubtedly right in assigning the sloping stone wall to the Middle Bronze Age; but soundings in the upper slopes of the Tell pointed to two conclusions incompatible with his dating of the double brick wall. Firstly, the mound seemed to be largely artificial, being composed of the accumulated debris of brick houses that had been destroyed with successive ages; and, secondly, the brick wall still visible upon the surface stood relatively high in this scale. Closer investigation of the foundations of this brick wall brought to light some fragments of pottery which Dr. Albright and myself agreed were characteristic of the first phase of the Late Bronze Age. The Very Rev. Père Vincent, unhappily absent from Palestine at that time, was consulted later, and unhesitatingly attributed these potsherds to the same epoch. Professor Watzinger, informed of these observations, kindly looked up his records, and informed me that there were traces of a superficial wall in the area indicated (namely Square G.5 in our plan), but that time and circumstances had not permitted him to make a full investigation of this feature. This was a new light upon the problem.

It now became highly desirable to reopen the site, with a view to establishing the dates of the various fortifications upon a basis that would be acceptable to all archæologists. On account of the peculiar circumstances of the case, it seemed best, in the first instance, to ask the Government of Palestine to nominate an international commission for this purpose, which would include, if possible, the original excavators; but this proposal was not found to be practicable, though the Department extended to one and all every possible facility. It was in this way that Sir Charles Marston invited me to undertake this special piece of excavation on his behalf, and himself provided the funds necessary for this purpose. With the collaboration of the Bishop of Hereford, Mrs. Garstang and Major Key, work began in January, and was brought to a close at the end of March. It was necessary, in the first instance, to find out bearings, to re-establish the survey points indicated in the admirable map of the site prepared by Drs. Langenegger and Noldeke in 1911, and thereafter to trace the former excavators' tip-heaps, which in the meanwhile had become consolidated under the successive winter rains, with a view to locating some un-excavated portion of the site appropriate for our investigation. The problem proved one of unexpected difficulty; not only because the former excavations had been extensive, but because, as it proved, after each successive destruction in ancient times the city had been raked over before being rebuilt. The stratifications in most of our early sections were found to be confused, for the reasons stated, and gave inconsistent results. However (in Square F.5), by widening a trench of the former excavators still open, we worked down through various levels of the Bronze Age to a depth of about five metres, where neolithic types of flints and floors were found towards the bottom. This work was supervised by Mr. Donald McCown, son of the Director of the American School, who had joined our party, and throughout the work gave proof of a real instinct for excavation. Parallel results were obtained in a cutting inside the north wall[1], where the several floors of the Middle and Early Bronze Ages were found with broken pottery vessels still in situ. These cuttings not only provided us with our initial criteria to serve as guide in the further investigation, but they showed in both cases that the main wall of the inner line of fortifications was placed upon the stratum of the Middle Bronze Age ii, into which its foundation hardly penetrated. It belonged, then, if these indications were substantiated, to the Late Bronze Age, and potsherds of this period were actually found in the surrounding surface deposits.

In the meantime, we had been removing a great tip-heap at the north- end (square C.7), because the plan showed that thirty or forty feet of the outer wall had not been uncovered at that spot, which thus seemed to offer an opportunity of digging in an undisturbed area. The result was satisfactory. The sloping stone revetment came to view in due time, and upon it there still stood the brick parapet which formed clearly the defensive wall of the period; and upon the rampart walk, itself artificially constructed,[2] there was found an undisturbed deposit of the Middle Bronze Age (c. 1800 B.C.), which gave a final date to this system of defences.

Collaterally with this undertaking we laid bare certain sectors of the sloping stone wall marked w-w in Square C.4 and a-a in

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[1] Upon the plan in Square E.6 and Pl. III.

[2] See Pl. IV.

Squares M.4 and 5. The wall disclosed corresponded in every way with the familiar descriptions. In the sector w-w we were able to get through the rampart into the interior of the city, and there found traces of a house which had been partly demolished at the time the wall was constructed, and was dated to the first part of the Middle Bronze Age. We obtained in this way confirmation that the sloping stone wall was built about the middle of the Middle Bronze Age, say 1800 B.C., and there was plentiful evidence that it remained in existence until towards the end of that period, about 1600 B.C. These first results, then, pointed to the conclusion that the outer stone rampart, belonging to M.B.A. ii. was older than the inner and upper line of fortification comprising the double brick wall, which arose with the Late Bronze Age about 1600 B.C.

In order to make doubly certain of this conclusion, a continuous deep section was cut right through both lines of fortification and the intervening portion of the mound, so as to relate both the stone revetment and the brick walls to the general stratifications of the site. This cutting is shown in the plan running through Squares D.6 and C.6, marked with the letters x-n, and the photograph on Pl. V. shows the work in progress. Following up the happy suggestion of Mr. Ernest Richmond, the Director of Antiquities, the section was subsequently continued further northward, outside the stone revetment, and disclosed a fosse.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the details of this piece of investigation, and a brief description of the method will suffice. All along this cutting the excavation was carried out by half metre depths, all objects from the different levels, chiefly potsherds, being separately registered. Step by step the excavation was taken down through the Bronze Age and flint-using levels to a depth which varied according to the position from 5 to 9 metres. Some 20,000 fragments of pottery were examined and charted. They were all washed under the superintendence of Mrs. Garstang in an improvised laboratory below the spring, and there the first sorting out of the distinctive fragments was made by myself with the occasional valued assistance of Dr. Clarence Fisher. A representative selection was made from each cutting and removed to our store, where finally all were re-examined independently by Dr. Fisher, the Rev. Père Vincent and myself. It was found as a result that there was a complete agreement between us as to the general conclusions. When the find spots of all these potsherds had been charted on section paper the stratifications became self-evident, and are as illustrated, stripped of all detail, in our diagram on Pl. VI. They show a depth of about one metre of debris attributed to the second phase of the Middle Bronze Age (B.C. 1800-1600), when the city was protected at its lower edge by the stone revetment, which proved to descend below the original ground-level. The earlier part of the Middle Bronze Age showed an even greater depth towards the top of the mound, but down the slope was generally parallel with the other strata. On the significance of this fact see below, p. 130. The Early Bronze Age also claimed about a metre and a half of depth, and incidentally yielded up a number of elegant flint arrow heads and other " neolithic " objects fashioned of that material.

Meanwhile, the excavation of the fosse had been undertaken but could not be completely carried out as the bottom had been disturbed. The conclusion is, however, fairly certain, that it was dug into the original ground and the debris of earlier ages at the same time that the stone revetment was constructed, about 1800 B.C., and it remained in use until the end of that period. It was not in fact until the Late Bronze Age had begun that it was finally and deliberately filled up with chert debris, so that the remains of the brick wall forming the parapet upon the stone revetment fell down into the depths of the fosse.

This diagram may be regarded as illustrating the growth of the site in general during the Bronze Age, for the results obtained in this cutting were borne out by independent detailed observations made in nine other places, so that there can remain no doubt as to the relative age of the stone wall and the double brick wall. The latter arose upon the ruins of the city which the former had enclosed. The stone revetment with its brick parapet pertained to the latter half of the Middle Bronze Age, and the double brick wall around the upper part of the hill constituted the defences during the Late Bronze Age. Our further investigations were chiefly concentrated upon details of this inner line of defence, namely the double brick wall, and the results may be best described by reference to the plan.

The outer wall is about six feet and the inner one twelve feet thick ; the space between the two varying from twelve to fifteen feet.

The inner wall was traced by the former excavators as far as shown in black upon our plan. The outer wall we picked up at intervals in a series of cuttings all around the same line, so that it clearly served as a continuous screen to the main defence within. On the eastern side both walls had some relation with a gate-tower, k2, found on the middle slopes opposite the foot of the present pool. This tower was apparently of great antiquity, but the position of the gate seems to have been maintained through various phases of construction, as several walls were found at the spot C2 superimposed on one another. Though we are satisfied that the brick walls are related to the position of this gateway, the actual course of the inner wall upon the eastern face, indicated provisionally in our plan along the sectors c.1-c.2 and k.1-k2, is subject to correction.

In the north-west angle at the spot marked T, the space between the walls, for a distance of some forty feet, was found to have been built up solidly with brick as for the support of a tower or *migdol* at that point.[1] The inner face of this tower still rose to a height of twenty-eight feet, but it had seen two phases of reconstruction since its inception in the early part of the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1900 B.C.). The main part of the standing wall was built directly upon an earlier wall, which served as its foundation, in the Late Bronze Age, by which date the level of the city itself had risen about two metres, so that the houses of the period abutting against the wall are found at a correspondingly higher level. The uppermost six feet of this wall projects outwards, is towards the west, beyond the original building line, supported partly upon the debris of the tower. The bricks of this uppermost portion also are larger than those below ; and it is possible that this feature represents the remains of a defensive wall, of the second phase of the Iron Age, which followed, in this vicinity at any rate, the original line of defence. This interesting possibility demands further investigation.

All along the west side, the inner brick wall was found in similar fashion to follow the course of a much older defensive wall similar in character and even thicker in structure, which served as its foundation.[2] In the lower wall the bricks are longer, and the thickness of the mortar bond is much greater than in the upper wall, averaging some five centimeters, or two inches. This lower wall was found associated with remains of the Middle Bronze Age i., and seems to have been constructed early in that period. Its southern extremity has not been traced; but to the north it is apparently continuous and identical with the wall classed as "prehistoric" in the former excavators' plan, on which it is coloured purple. Its return along the north side has not been found, but it reappeared quite plainly on the eastern end of the north wall, at the spot k.e. running north and south. Both on the east and west, as has been said, it underlies the brick wall of the Late Bronze Age, and may thus be appropriately described as the "dark blue" wall in distinction to the "light blue" wall above. As stated, this lower wall is not yet traced across the north end of the city. The "light blue" wall in that area stands upon debris of Middle Bronze Age ii., so that the outline of the earliest city, that which was presumably defended by the "dark blue" wall, remains to be determined on the north and south. By reference to the sectional diagram on Pl. VI, it will be seen that the M.B.i. stratum which passes outwards under the L.B. wall, retains its exceptional thickness down to a point about half way towards the outer M.B. rampart, where it begins to dwindle: this peculiarity suggests that the cross section of the "dark blue" wall is to be sought in the cutting at this spot.

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[1] cf. Pls.VII—VIII.

[2] The lower wall was not traced with certitude in the southern sector *e-b.* of our plan, notwithstanding the indications in our drawing, which may have to be amended in this detail.

The most instructive section through the double wall was that marked e-e in the plan. It had been already begun, but had become partly filled up with war materials in later years. By widening and deepening this cutting, we eventually found an intelligible section. This is illustrated by the photograph on Pl. IX and our sketch Pl. X. showing the following features. (*a*) The underlying wall of Middle Bronze Age i., which is there about fifteen feet in thickness, but is damaged on its inner and outer edges. Brick debris is piled against its inner face, and a black destruction-layer mixed with decayed brick earth is seen running down the slope towards the west.

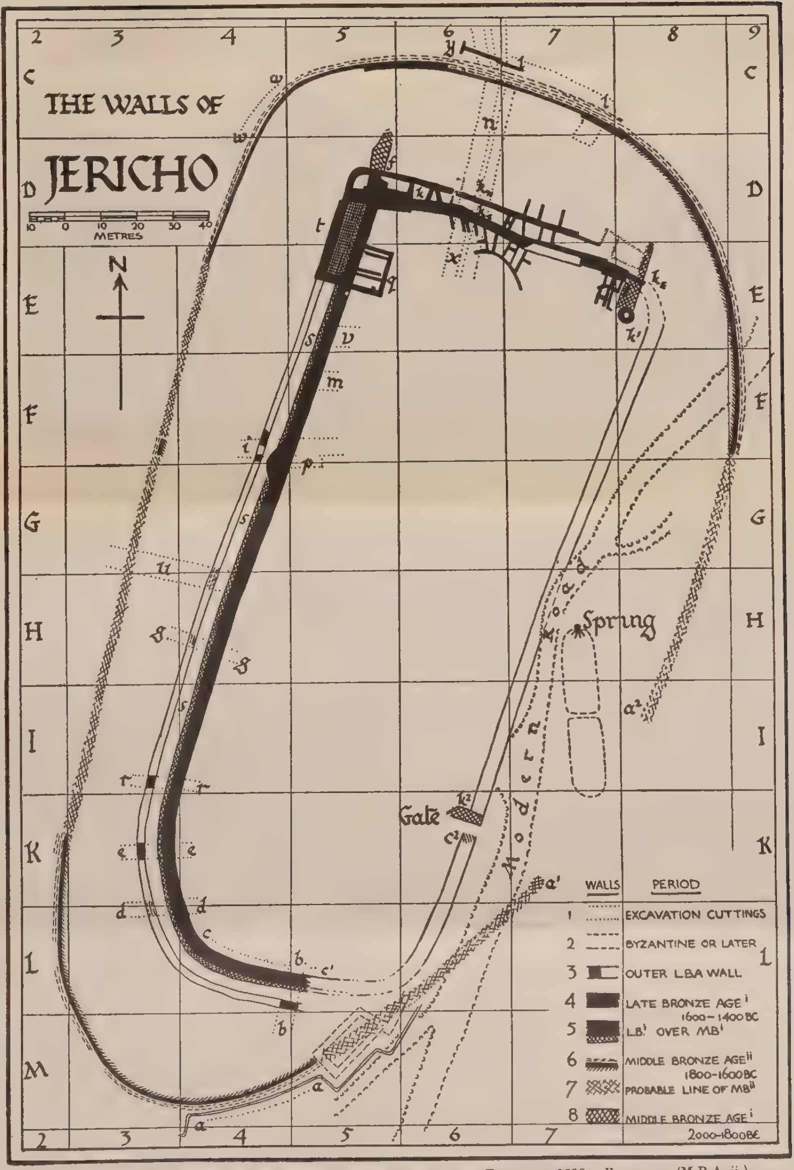
(b) Superimposed upon the foregoing appears the Late Bronze Age wall, also of brick, about twelve feet in thickness, of which some fourteen courses are preserved, each about four inches high. This wall rests only at one point actually upon that below, and the gaps in its foundations are seen to have been made good with stone and earth, so that the wall itself has settled slightly on both sides. Its final destruction is shown by layers of burnt bricks, grey ash, and wall plaster, and, at the top, by streaks and pockets of charcoal which suggest also a subsequent conflagration. (c) Towards the west at a distance of fifteen feet the base of the smaller outer wall is seen to be tilted forward, surrounded with debris, the whole covered with a black layer of disintegrated bricks. Above these levels in the section we found deposits of the early Iron Age ii, about 900 B.C., and upon the surface traces of byzantine buildings.

This cutting is characteristic of several which we examined along the western line of the wall, all of which show that in the destruction of this city the walls fell generally outwards, depositing in the space between them and down the slopes of the mound, the debris of superimposed houses and the ruins of the walls themselves. There are also clear traces of a general conflagration affecting both the inner wall and the houses against it, all around the south and west side. The date of this wall and signs of its destruction were studied independently together with the associated potsherds, by Père Vincent, Dr. Fisher and myself, and our conclusions may be summarised in the following brief report which was drawn up on March 2.

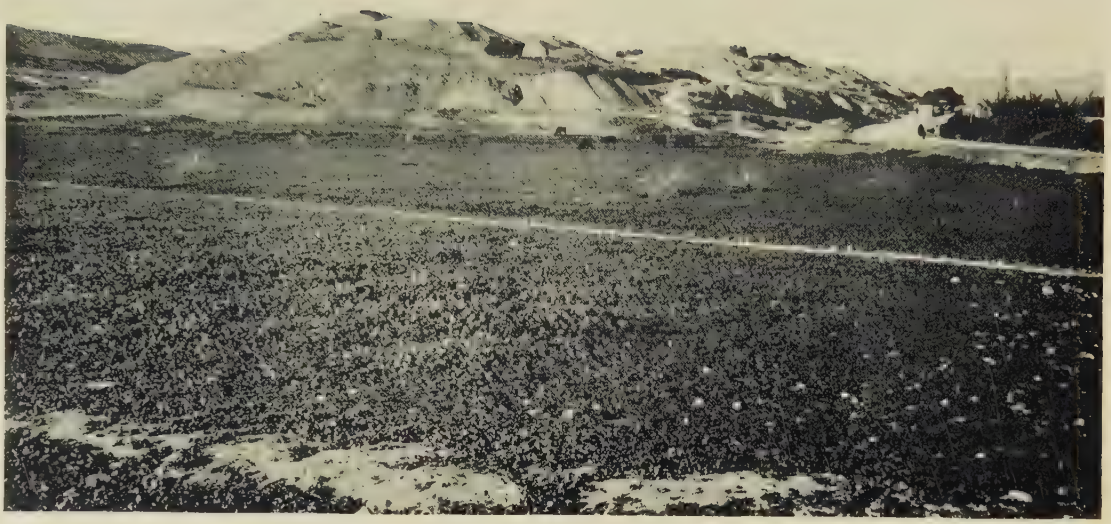
"The main defences of Jericho in the Late Bronze Age followed the upper brink of the city mound, and comprised two parallel walls, the outer six feet, the inner twelve feet thick. Investigations along the west side show continuous signs of destruction and conflagration. The outer wall suffered most, its remains falling outwards down the slope. The inner wall is preserved only where it abuts upon the citadel to a height of twenty feet, elsewhere it is found to have fallen largely together with the remains of buildings upon it, into the space between the walls, which was filled up with ruins and debris. Traces of intense fire are plain to see, including reddened masses of brick, cracked stones, charred timbers and ashes. Houses alongside the wall were found burnt to the ground, their roofs fallen upon the domestic pottery. The date of destruction was ascertained to fall before the close of the Late Bronze Age, but the precise date and the solution of numerous other questions can only be determined by more complete and methodical excavation."

The interest of this unanimous conclusion to students of Bible history is obvious, for the Late Bronze Age covers the period of

Joshua under any scheme of chronology, that of biblical tradition (I. Kings vi. i.) falling about the middle of the period. Further examination of the stratification, and a methodical excavation of the houses of the period in the south quarter of the city, which appears to be undisturbed, will no doubt narrow down this important date. Meanwhile it is significant that among some sixty thousand potsherds washed and examined in the course of this investigation, of which roughly ten thousand were associated with the destruction of these walls, not a single fragment of Mykenæan character was observed, such as are familiar on most sites in occupation during the latter half of the Late Bronze Age. It might be argued that Jericho was off the beaten track of commerce and trade relations, and indeed a definite "lag" is noticeable in the development of local arts, but the chance discovery of a vase of Mykenæan type outside the city during the last days of work showed that this factor could not be adduced in explanation, and at the same time imposed a limit of date on the city's destruction. The vase is of well known type, and specialist opinion assigns it to a range of date from 1350-1200 B.C. Thanks to certain well defined layers of destruction outside the ramparts, the circumstances of its discovery can be co-related to the stratification of the site as a whole. The diagram Pl. VI. shows the find spot, marked M.P., above the filling of the fosse, at the extreme northern end. The vase lay between two destruction layers, the one attributable to the middle of the Late Bronze Age, the other to the second phase of the Iron Age, in other words to a layer falling between 1400 B.C. and 900 A.D. Now, the first part of the Iron Age (from 1200-900 B.C.) is practically unrepresented in the stratification of this site, and in fact the debris at the foot of which the vase was found belongs, like the vase itself, to the second phase of the Late Bronze Age, between 1400-1200 B.C. After the destruction of the Late Bronze Age city upon the mound, a few houses are found to have sprung up at this northern extremity of the site, making partial use of the long disused ramparts of the older city at the foot of the slope, but without trace of any defensive walls. The Mykenæan vase belongs to this era. We reach then, the conclusion that upon present evidence the city was destroyed, in round figures, about the year 1400 B.C., just before the infiltration of Mykenæan wares began. But, as has been said, the site may still yield more definite evidence upon this point.

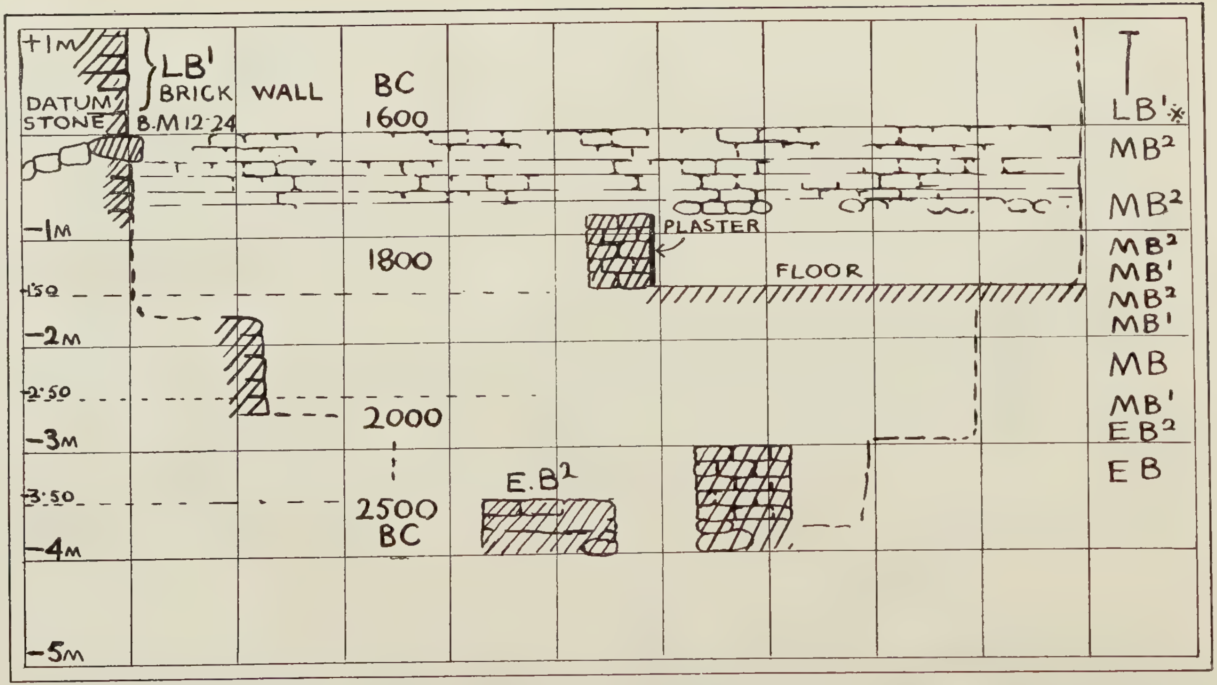

THE WALLS OF
JERICHO
10 0 10 20 30 40
METRES
N
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
L
M
Spring
Gate
WALLS
PERIOD
1 EXCAVATION CUTTINGS
2 BYZANTINE OR LATER
3 OUTER LBA WALL
4 LATE BRONZE AGE i 1600–1400 BC
5 LB.i OVER MB i
6 MIDDLE BRONZE AGE ii 1800–1600 BC
7 PROBABLE LINE OF MB ii
8 MIDDLE BRONZE AGE i 2000–1800 BC

Plan of the Fortifications of Jericho, Showing the Places Examined 1930. *ll*, *ww*, *aa* (M.B.A. ii.), clearances against the outer stone revetment. k.e ; k ; s ; b ; line of double brick wall (L.B.A. i). t. foundations of tower. The lines k.1-k.2 and c.1-c2 are not definite, nor is the presence of the lower wall ascertained between spots e and b in the south-west corner, notwithstanding the indication of the drawings. x-n line of deep section shown also in Plate VI.

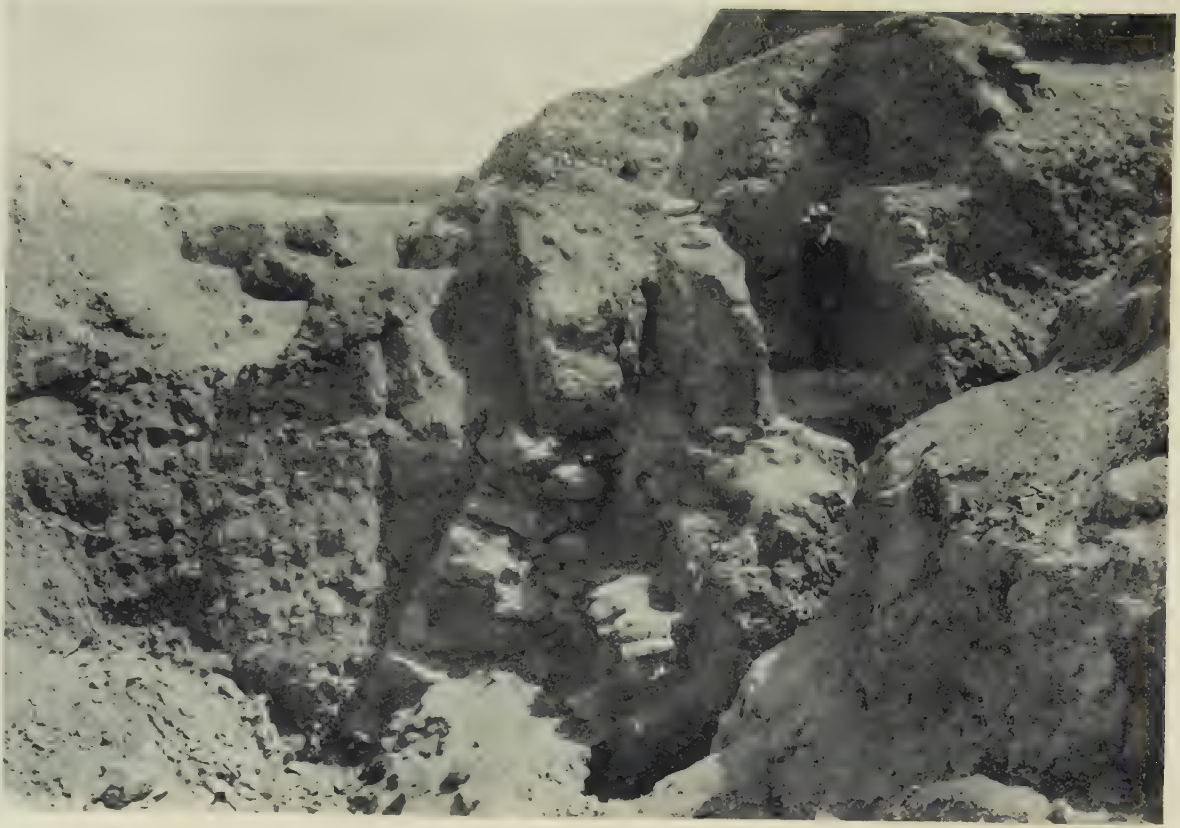


The Mound of Old Jericho—Kōm el-Sultan—from the South.

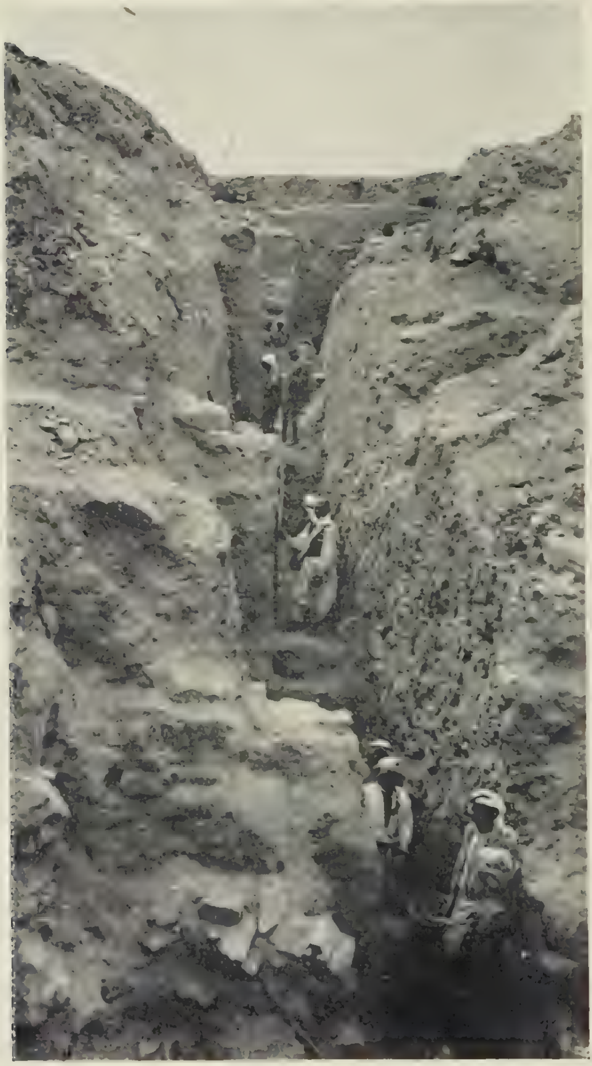
In the forepart of the Tell, at the foot, line of the stone revetment : higher up, line of the double brick wall. On the R., the spring called 'Aīn el-Sultan.


+1M
DATUM STONE
LB¹ BRICK
B.M 12·24
WALL
BC 1600
1800
2000
2500 BC
−1M
1·50
−2M
2·50
−3M
3·50
−4M
−5M
PLASTER
FLOOR
E.B²
LB¹ *
MB²
MB²
MB²
MB¹
MB²
MB¹
MB
MB¹
EB²
EB

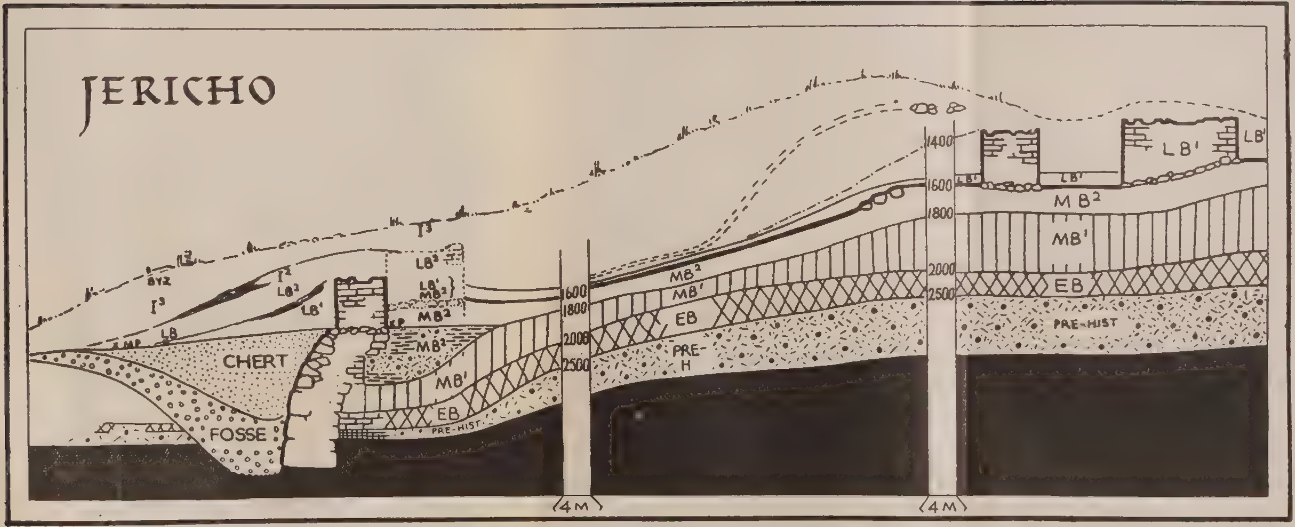
Section Through House Walls and Floors Down to Early Bronze Age Levels, at Spot *x* in Squares D6, E6 of the Plan Pl. I., Showing the Inner Brick Wall, seen also on the Extreme R. of Pl. VI. to Rest upon the Strata of the Middle Bronze Age.



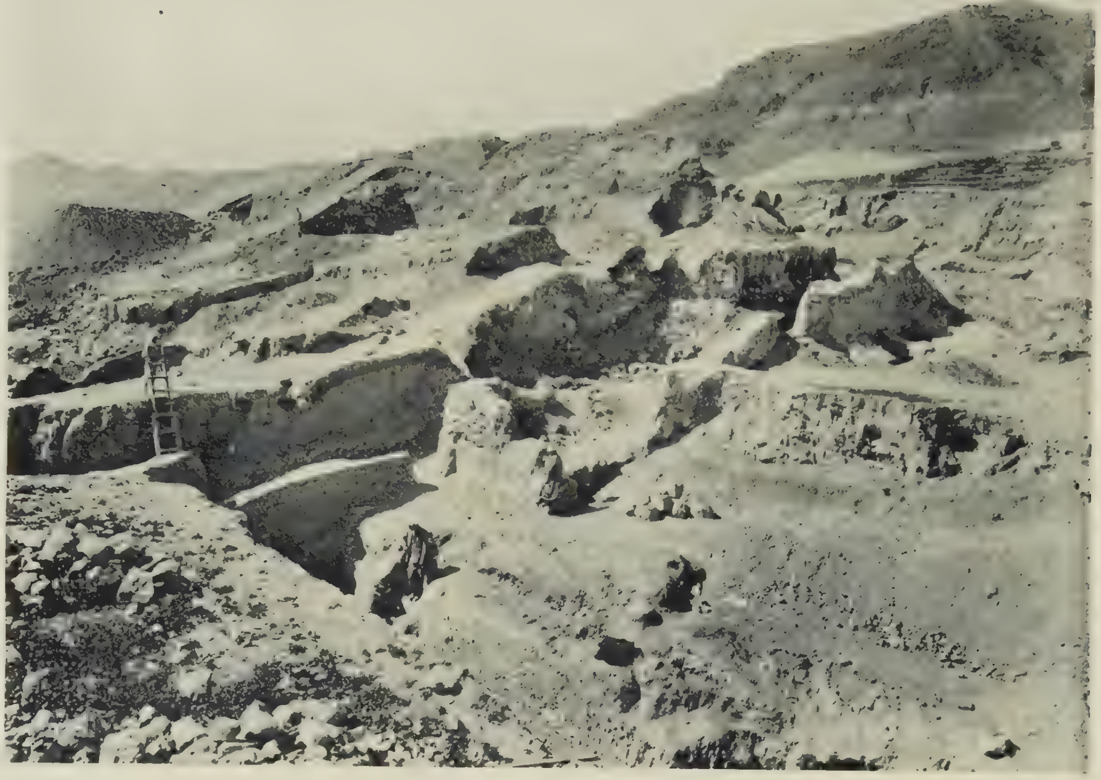
Brick Parapet upon the Stone Revetment of the Middle Bronze Age, B.C. 1800-1600.
On the L. above the debris filling the gorge may be seen two black destruction layers. cf. Pl. VI.
The view is taken facing E. at the north end of the site, square C.6 in the Plan Pl. I.



Section Through the Outer and Inner Lines of Fortification and the Stratifications of the Mound. cf. Pl. VI.


JERICHO
BYZ
I³
I²
LB²
LB¹
MB²
MP
LB
KP
CHERT
FOSSE
MB²
MB¹
EB
PRE-HIST
1400
1600
1800
2000
2500
PRE-H
LB¹
4M
4M

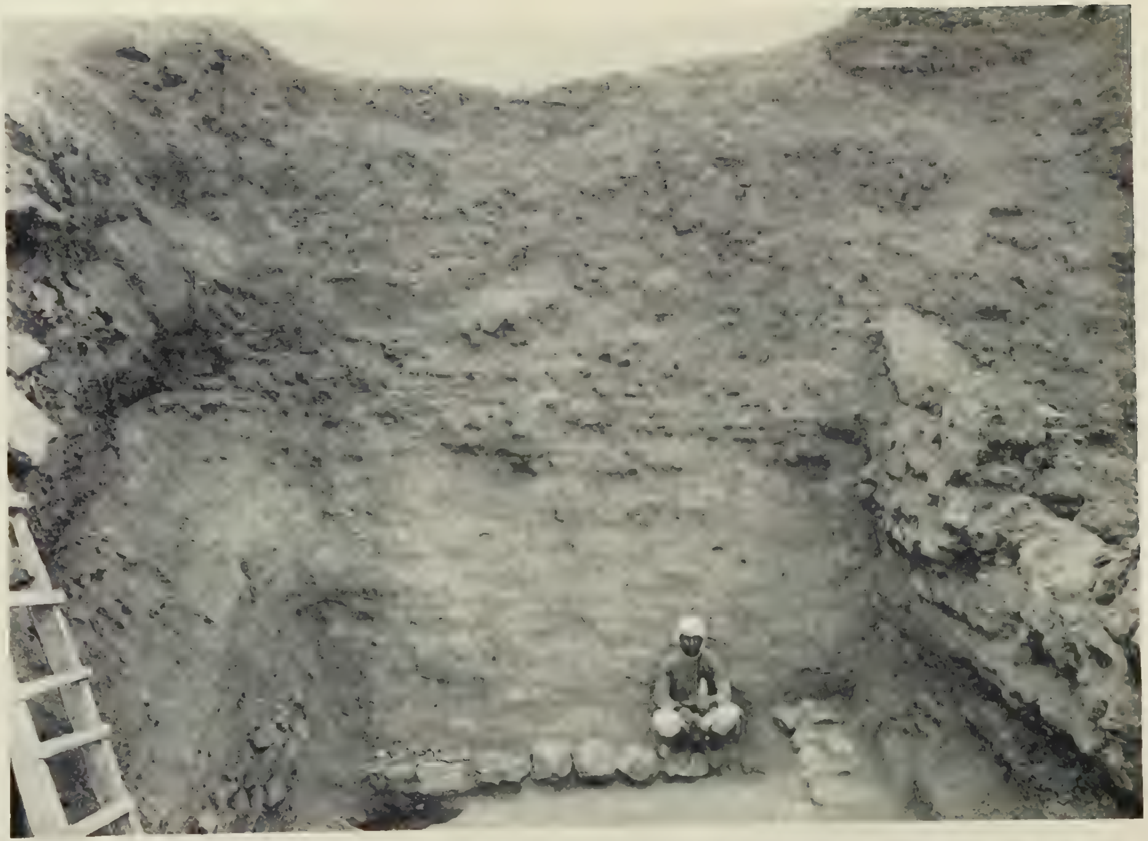
Section North and South through the North End of the Mound of Jericho, along the Line n-x in Squares C6, D6, E6 of the Plan, Pl. I.
It involves on the L, the outer fosse, stone revetment, and brick parapet, of M.B. ii, *c.* 1800-1600 B.C.: and on the R, near the surface, the double brick walls of L.B. i., *c.* 1600-1400 B.C. Against the inner face of the parapet is shown the profile of a room which interrupts the upper strata; it was built in LB ii. (1400-1200 B.C.) and is associated with the outer layer of burnt debris, I. 2 and a vase in Mykenæan style. M.P. of the same date as the house.
Scale: 1 cm. = 2 m. or 1 : 200.



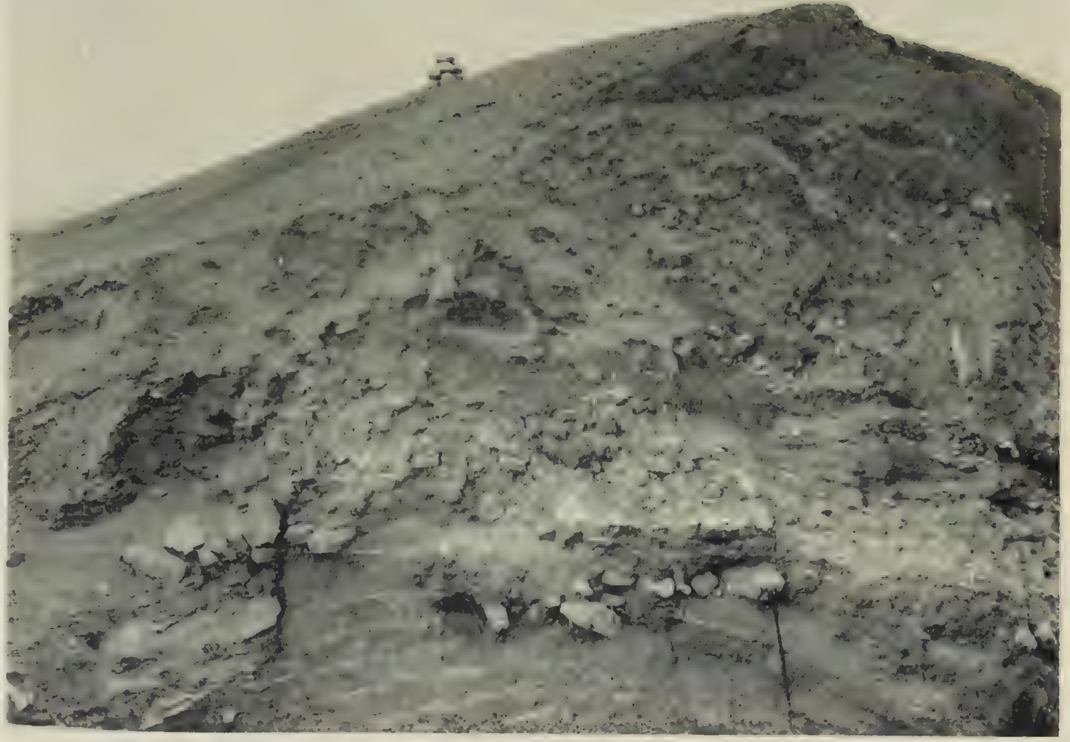
General View of the Ruinous Double Brick Wall at the North End with the Site of the Tower Beyond, from the N.E.

In the foreground the deep cutting marked in the plan *n* in Square D.6. The view is taken from a tip heap in Square D.7, looking towards the tower *t* in Square D.5. On the R. in the background, the Jebel Kuruntul.

Plate VIII.

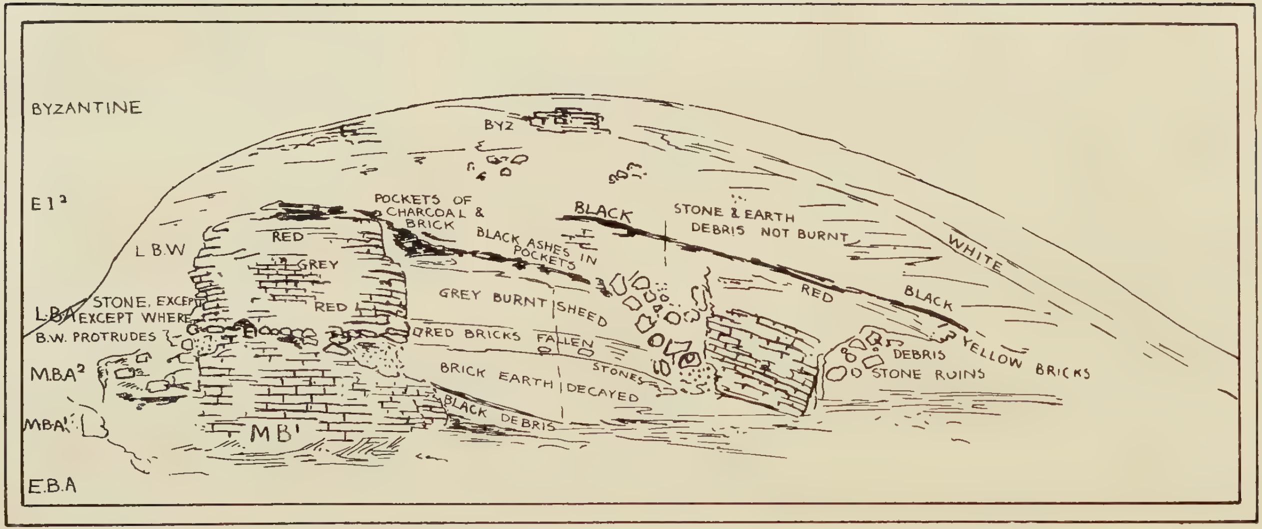


INNER FACE OF THE TOWER AND MAIN BRICK WALLS IN SQUARE E.5 OF THE PLAN, PL. I. VIEWED FROM THE E. At the bottom are seen the foundations of the main wall, and (R. of the figure) of a building against it, both dating



Remains of the Inner Brick Wall of L.B. (c. 1600 B.C.) Partly Resting upon an Earlier Wall, also of Brick. On the R. the Layers of Destruction Falling Down the Slope.

Plate X. *Palestine Exploration Fund.*


BYZANTINE
E I²
L.B.A
M.B.A²
M.B.A¹
E.B.A
BYZ
L B.W
STONE, EXCEPT
EXCEPT WHERE
B.W. PROTRUDES
POCKETS OF CHARCOAL & BRICK
RED
GREY
RED
MB¹
BLACK ASHES IN POCKETS
BLACK
STONE & EARTH DEBRIS NOT BURNT
WHITE
GREY BURNT SHEED
RED BRICKS FALLEN
BRICK EARTH DECAYED
STONES
BLACK DEBRIS
RED
BLACK
YELLOW BRICKS
DEBRIS
STONE RUINS

Sketch Showing Section and Destruction Layers of the Double Brick Wall, in the Cutting *c c* of the Plan, Pl. I.
The inner wall is seen to rest partly upon the remains of an older brick wall.

BETH SHEMESH, 1930.

By Prof. Elihu Grant.

The Haverford Expedition, to explore the mound at Ain Shems, known as Rumeileh, is in the midst of its third season. As will be remembered, the Palestine Exploration Fund worked the site before the Great War for two seasons, under the direction of Dr. Mackenzie, so we may fairly say that the mound is one of the better known Tells of Palestine.

The 1930 campaign has laid open a rectangular strip due east of the sectors of 1928 and 1929, running almost north and south through the mound, and closely approaching the western line of the work of the Fund in 1912. We are at the moment of writing (April 26th) about four metres below the surface, and finding much evidence of the Middle Bronze Age, Canaanite city.

The chief discoveries are in architectural remains and ceramic. A great house at the southern end of this year's cutting rests upon debris and pottery clusters of the Middle Bronze Age. A huge pottery kiln, just east of the temple (see 1928 and 1929) is five and a quarter metres deep, going to bedrock, and showing signs of having been used down to the close of the Early Iron Age. On the floor of the kiln were fragments of Early Bronze Age pottery. The prevailing materials, however, dated from the Middle Bronze Age city. Most notable of these were saucer lamps, typical of the period in other respects, but having seven pinched spouts, each, instead of one.

Another Astarte plaque of clay, Egyptian Hathor style, about 1500 B.C., with papyrus and lotus buds held by the goddess, closely resembles the one found in 1928; see *Beth Shemesh*, Haverford, Pennsylvania, 1929, page 35. Further, a few stamped jar handles, cylinders, and scarabs, charred food, lentils, peas, raisins, all stored in jars of the Middle Bronze Age style, olives, a nursing bottle (?) of clay in the form of a nude woman with the left breast as a nipple, and fragments of much coloured ware extended from the periods of Middle and Late Bronze and into Early Iron. There was an almost complete absence of the thin Cypriote milk-bowl ware with wish-bone handles and geometrical design, of which we found so much previously.

The houses of the Canaanite ages were nearer the surface this year than in the 1928-1929 digging, and, in general, the strata this year belong to an earlier day, so that even the layers from the Iron Age were more mixed with debris of an early age, and more speedily penetrated. While there has been a great stirring up of the debris in the upper three metres of remains, in general it seems clear that Beth Shemesh of the Hebrew period is better represented in the region of the former city-wall than on our part of the hill crest.

Our early impression at this time is that we have found an important portion of Middle Bronze Age, Canaanite Beth Shemesh. What was its name in those days ?

THE MOUNT OF GOD.

By Rev. W. J. Phythian-Adams, M.A., D.S.O., M.C.

"The exact site of the 'Mount of God' must be left for future exploration to discover. When the territories of the ancient Edom and Midian have been examined with the same minute care as Palestine or the so-called Peninsula of Sinai, we shall doubtless know where the sacred peak was really situated. Though the Hebrews may not have left memorials of their sojourn at its foot, there must surely be traces of the worship of the Babylonian Moon-god after whom it was named.[1]"

That was written nearly forty years ago, and it might be expected that by this time new facts would have come to light to confirm, or disprove Professor Sayce's prophecy. As a matter of fact, such an exploration as he suggested has taken place. In 1910 Dr. Alois Musil, Professor of Oriental Studies in the Charles University, Prague, undertook a topographical expedition through the ancient land of Midian, from Ma'an on the borders of Edom, to the lava fields of Harrat al-Awaridh. The volume describing the results of this journey was published by the American Geographical Society in 1926[2], and the following pages must be regarded in the light of a commentary on Dr. Musil's discoveries. If the conclusions outlined below are such as to secure assent, the credit for them belongs not to the writer, who has simply put two and two together, but to the explorer who has braved the dangers and hardships of a "great and terrible wilderness." That Dr. Musil himself has not perceived the significance of his own statements, that he mentions the main thesis of this article only to reject it,[3] and, finally, that English scholars have so far given it scant consideration, are however, facts which give one to pause. Will the reader be readily persuaded to accept the geographical suggestions that will be offered him, unless he is first made familiar with the hypothesis with which those data are logically connected ? It is at least possible that he would decline altogether to consider them, and this must be the writer's excuse for a somewhat lengthy presentation and estimate of the Biblical narrative.

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[1] Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* (1894), p. 271 *sq*. The situation of Sinai *East* and not West of the Gulf of Akaba is assumed in the present article. The geographical and Biblical evidence is discussed in Part II.

[2] Musil, *The Northern Hegaz. American Geographical Society Oriental Explorations and Studies No.* 1. *New York*, 1926. The book contains 15 fully documented appendices including studies on the Biblical Ma'an, the Amalekites, the Route of the Exodus, the City and People of Madian and the Mountain of God.

[3] Musil, *op. cit.* p. 298.

This article, then, divides itself into two parts. In the first we shall consider certain data which tend to show that the "Mount of God," Horeb-Sinai, was a particular kind of mountain, namely, a volcano. In the second we shall explore the regions in which such a mountain is to be found, and we shall offer reasons for identifying it with the "Mount of God."

In investigating the "natural foundations" of Israelite tradition we need a special caution. The critical instinct, generally with perfect wisdom, is deeply suspicious of the Unusual, and, still more, of the "Miraculous" in an ancient narrative. It strives, therefore, to bring such abnormal features into line with the more conventional and familiar facts of life ; and where it cannot explain them, it is apt to explain them away. It is necessary to be aware of the dangers attending this process. There can be a reduction of the Unusual to a point which is very literally a *reductio ad absurdum ;* and nowhere is this more evident than in the subject under discussion. In explaining away the "miraculous" (or, in other words, the abnormal) incidents in *Exodus*, we may find ourselves at the last confronted with a miracle quite as startling, of which we shall ourselves have destroyed the explanation ; that miracle of the still living and persistent Israel which is not a legend, but a fact.

What brought that strange Undying People into being ? What planted in them that ineradicable pride of race and blood ? Could the mere genius of one Leader, however gifted, have forged that spirit which has survived even the loss of a Fatherland ? Were the memories that leapt to their minds at every crisis and issued so often in such majestic utterance, fables and fairy tales, grafted on an unromantic and uneventful past ? These are questions that it is not only rational, but necessary to ask ourselves when we approach the study of a people unique in history. For such a people the usual and the commonplace fails to provide an adequate explanation: such a Present has no kinship with such a Past. Even in the cold light of Criticism (or perhaps rather by aid of it) one conclusion seems to stand out stark and clear; that behind the undaunted courage and inextinguishable faith of ancient Israel there lay an Experience abnormal, terrible, yet full of exultation, which sealed them indelibly as a nation "set apart."

What that Experience was, will, it is hoped, become more certain with each fresh stage of our enquiry; but its nature is sufficiently clear at the very outset: it lies indeed upon surface of the narrative. 1. *The Pillar of Cloud and Fire.*

And the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light, that they might go by day and by night; the pillar of cloud by day; and the pillar of fire by night, departed not from before the people (Ex. xiii., 21.)

What explanation are we to offer of this extraordinary phenomenon, which Israel cherished as one of the most glorious incidents of their Deliverance? Can we for a moment remain satisfied with the prevailing view, which refers us to "the variously attested custom of a brazier filled with burning wood being borne at the head of a caravan of pilgrims, or an army, or of a chief having a fire blazing before his tent"?[4] If, at the back of this astonishing appearance, there lies only a "custom" which can be hardly called uncommon, how, we may well ask, was it magnified, *in this particular case and no other*, into a stupendous token of divine guidance? If this is the only available explanation of the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, would it not be more rational to discard the whole story as a fairy tale?

And yet there is an explanation, and that a perfectly natural one, which accounts quite simply for this apparently miraculous phenomenon. More than this, *it is the only explanation which will account rationally for it.*

"Of all volcanic phenomena, the most constant is the emission of vapour. It is one of the earliest features of an eruption . . . . attaining often to prodigious volume . . . . During a violent eruption the vapour may be suddenly shot upwards *as a vertical column of enormous height*, penetrating the passing clouds . . . In a great eruption the height of the mountain itself may appear dwarfed by comparison with that of the column of vapour. During the eruption of Vesuvius in April, 1906, the steam and dust rose to a height of 6 and 8 m. [iles]. At Krakatoa, in 1883, the column of vapour and ashes reached an altitude of nearly 20 m. [iles]."[5] After reading this description, we may well ask if we need look further for the "Pillar of Cloud." It may be supplemented by reference to an eruption, which took place in 1256 A.D. in the volcanic regions east of Medina. From the Arab writer, al-Mukrizi, we learn that the *flames* of this eruption could be seen as far as the environs of Bozra in the Hauran.[6] This point is of extraordinary interest for us. Not only did this "Pillar of Fire" appear in the neighbourhood of the very regions, in which we must look for the "Mount of God" (the land of Midian); but it was visible at a distance of over 600 miles, *while the volcanic fields east of the Gulf of Akaba are not much more than half that number from the western borders of Egypt.*

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[4] Driver, *Exodus* (*Camb. Bible*, 1918) p. 113, *cf.* McNeile *Exodus* (1917), p. 82.

Let us consider what this means. Israelite tradition records the appearance of a Pillar of Cloud and Fire, by which Yahweh led His People to His Holy Mountain. It is very plainly thought of as something colossal and altogether mysterious; a phenomenon transcending not only human artifice, but even the sublimer manifestations of Nature as they were known to the men who saw it. What explanation can we offer for a national memory so strange and so impressive? What was this mighty column which proclaimed itself so evidently the token of Divine Guidance? How came it to precede the people of Israel until they stood at the very foot of the Mount of God? There is but one answer to all these questions, the answer which we have already suggested. It is that, in its earliest form, Israelite tradition is a faithful reflection of the past. The stupendous pillar which rose from the far horizon existed not in fantasy, but in fact: nor could a more unerring guide have been chosen to lead the way to the Mount of God, since it was *from the mouth of that Mount itself* that this beacon of smoke and flame lifted its towering head.[7]

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[5] *Ency. Brit.*, 11th Ed., *Art.* "*Volcano*," p. 179. The italics are the present writer's.

[6] Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

2. *Moses at the Mount of God.*

The moment the possibility of this hypothesis is admitted, new light is thrown upon the earlier narrative of *Exodus*. It has for long been held that this title, "the Mount of God" belonged to Sinai before Moses first happened upon it in his pastoral wanderings[8]; that it had, in fact, been a holy mountain long before its connection with the story of Israel. This view would receive most striking corroboration if Sinai was a volcano, not yet at that time active, but in the semi-quiescent stage which precedes eruption. The appearance it then presented would have conferred upon it an inevitable sanctity. Faint wreaths of smoke would have been seen drifting at times from its summit, as if invisible hands were offering a burnt sacrifice to some unknown god. Remote and indistinct rumblings might have been heard or felt by those with sufficient daring to approach it. It may even be that some strange electrical phenomena—premonitory of eruption—could be seen at nightfall glimmering about the bushes on its slopes. It needs in any case little imagination to picture the attitude of the surrounding Bedouin to this mountain of mystery, or to conjecture the name which their fears would force them to give it. "The Mount of God." What god? No matter! Some god best left alone! It is only foreigners like Moses, who, in their ignorance, tread on that holy ground! This view, if substantially correct, will make it easier to understand how Sinai could be subsequently appropriated by Israel as the mountain of the God of their Patriarchs. It will explain further why Jethro, himself a priest of Midian, was able to acknowledge Yahweh as "greater than all gods" (his own, of course, included) and pay the homage of sacrifice to his newly-recognised

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[7] This view has already been advanced by Gressmann. (*Mose und seine Zeit*, 1913, p. 192 *sq*). The present writer arrived at the same conclusion independently. Neither Driver nor McNeile mention the theory. Harford in Peake's *Commentary*, p. 80, calls it "attractive" but without apparent enthusiasm. Brown, in the *New Commentary* (Gore), p. 78, notices it but seems to miss its point.

[8] Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 18, McNeile, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

Deity at the foot of a mountain which stood within the borders of his own land.[9] (Ex. xviii. 10-12.)

3. *The Change of Route at the Exodus.*

One passage in the story of Moses' vigil by the mountain is of special interest as throwing a forward light on a hitherto unexplained incident of the Exodus. *And [God] said, Certainly I will be with thee ; and this shall be a token unto thee, that I have sent thee : when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain.* (Ex. iii., 12.) The difficulty of this verse is to decide what the "token" in question is meant to be, but the explanation is obvious *if a return to Sinai formed no part of Moses' original plans.* It is generally assumed that, when he led Israel out of Egypt, it was with the fixed intention of taking them to the "Mount of God." But why is it assumed ? The demand in Ex. viii., 27, to be allowed to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to God gives, of course, no indication of Moses' real purpose. *That purpose was surely to return to Palestine.* Tradition itself asserts that his *first* move was in the direction of the shortest route thither and that he was deflected from that course by the hand of God. *And it came to pass when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not by the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near ; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt ; but God led the people about, by the way of the wilderness of the Yâm Suph* (*i.e.*, as later references show clearly, the gulf of Akaba). (Ex. xiii., 17-18, cf. xiv. 1.) What was it, then, that caused Moses to alter so suddenly and so drastically the direction of his march ; and what was it that convinced him so completely that it was by God's will that this change was made ? If our hypothesis be correct, the answer is a simple one. It was because he had seen on the far horizon the unexpected and portentous "token" of the Pillar of Cloud. Like an enormous finger, inexplicable to all men but himself, it beckoned to him silently from the distant mountains of the East. Swiftly, in response to this strange bidding, the direction of march was changed, and as night fell, and men stumbled on through the darkness, the red glow brightened on them and beckoned still. How far, indeed, Moses himself would be aware that this great beacon was actually flaming upon the Mount of God, is necessarily a matter for speculation. But we can at least affirm that a man, who not long before had returned from Midian to Egypt, would have no hesitation in fixing the general locality of the Pillar, and would recognise without difficulty the route that he must take to reach it. On his approach to the mountain, the truth would, in any case, become immediately obvious, and it is not by any means impossible that the memory of it should have inspired the reference to this unexpected "token" of guidance in Ex. iii., 12, when its real origin had been obscured by later legendary embellishments.

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[9] The curious theory that Jethro himself taught Moses the name and worship of Yahweh (Driver, p. xlix. *sq.*) is so exactly the opposite of the received tradition that it is difficult to see how it could ever have been entertained.

4. *Israel at Sinai.*

It will have been observed that the emission of an enormous column of dust and vapour is one of the earliest features of a volcanic eruption. It takes place, that is, between the semiquiescent stage of the crater's activity and that tremendous and awe-inspiring outburst, of which it is the herald and forerunner. In the early narrative of *Exodus* we seem to have all three stages given; the first indirectly and by way of reasonable inference; the second, with convincing clarity, in the Pillar of Cloud and Fire; the third with an amazingly lifelike precision in the fire and thick darkness of the Theophany.

On the arrival of Israel at the Mount of God there was a pause (the interval varying in the different sources from one to six days) and this was employed in "setting bounds" around the mountain (Ex. xix., 12, 23). This phrase, and the injunction forbidding the people to go up to the mount or touch the border of it, are strongly suggestive of its nature. The picture they call up is not that of a great peak in some connected range, but of an isolated hill rising on all sides from a surrounding plain and with a circumference at its base neither vast nor ill-defined. Here, then, is yet one more indication that the "Mount of God" owed its peculiar sanctity not to bulk or loftiness, but to a grandeur and a terror of its own.

And it came to pass on the third day, when it was morning, that there were thunders and lightenings, and a thick cloud upon the Mount, and the voice of a trumpet exceeding loud ; and all the people that were in the camp trembled. And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet God ; and they stood at the nether part of the mount. And Mount Sinai was altogether on smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire ; and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly. (Ex. xix. 16-18.)

It is to these last words that we must first direct our attention. The LXX and some Hebrew MSS. have *people* for *mount* as in verse 16, and it has been pointed out that the Hebrew word *hared* "is not used elsewhere of the merely physical movement of inanimate objects."[10] If the received reading, then, should have to be emended, it would be possible to follow those critics to whom the Theophany on Sinai is another instance of the "symbolism of the Bible," and its "'natural foundation'" . . . "evidently a thunderstorm."[11] It would be possible, but can we for a moment affirm that it would be adequate ? . Is it conceivable that this, which is one of the grandest and most majestic scenes in human history, originated in a spectacle so familiar as the sight of a thunderstorm on a hill-top ? Have we not merely to phrase it in these words to see in an instant another reduction of the Unusual to the verge of the Ridiculous ? But, as it happens, there are grave objections against this change of the text. It is never safe to follow an easier reading when a more difficult is found already in possession, and here it is, at the least, highly improbable, that a writer who had never seen or heard of a trembling mountain should deliberately substitute it for the trembling of a terror-stricken people. But there is a further and far more serious objection than this. It is generally agreed that, while verses 14 to 17 have been derived from the source called E, verse 18, in which these words occur, belong to the source J, the reference to Sinai (instead of Horeb) being in itself one of that source's distinguishing characteristics. Now it is a remarkable fact, that while E represents the people as trembling and terror-struck, J refers to them as having been forbidden, in their eagerness, to "break through to come up unto the Lord lest he break forth upon them (Verses 20 and 24, both J). It would therefore be a complete contradiction for this writer to represent them as, at the same time, "trembling greatly"; and we may regard the received reading as undoubtedly correct. It was the Mount, not the People, that trembled; and if there is any significance in the use of an unnatural verb, it may surely be because the writer regarded the trembling of a mountain as in itself an unnatural thing!

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[10] Driver, p. 173.

[11] Dr ver, p. 176.

We have dwelt upon this point, it may be, at too great length; yet the importance of it can scarcely be exaggerated. It forms the centre of our picture. Around it the other details arrange themselves and reveal the secret of their origin. The lightnings of Sinai are seen now, not in the familiar guise of a passing storm, but as the far more fearful satellites of a mountain that belches fire.

"The electrical phenomena attending an eruption are often of great intensity and splendour. The dark ash-laden clouds of vapour are shot through and through by volcanic lightning, sometimes in rapid horizontal flashes, then in oblique forked streaks, or again in tortuous lines compared to fiery serpents."[12]

Even such a description as this, written and read in complete detachment, can hardly fail to excite and thrill the imagination. What impression then must such a scene have made on those who witnessed the terrible convulsions of the Mount of God? Around them on all sides the solid earth is quaking; above them the black clouds of smoke, which veil the summit, are torn incessantly by jagged tongues of fire; great flaming masses, born amidst cavernous rumblings, break forth, and roll downwards, in waves of incandescent and molten rock; while from the crater's throat the vast expiration of the volcano bursts out in titanic clamour, a voice unearthly and appalling, which makes the knees tremble and the heart turn cold with dread. If it was such a scene as this, that heralded the awful Theophany on Sinai; if it was through such clouds and in such a tumult that the undaunted Leader went up to meet his God, then and then only can we understand the vitality of that traditional Past, which through so many centuries rallied and inspired the

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[12] *Enc. Brit., loc. cit.*, p. 179.

Israelites. For that imperishable memory of the "Mount that burned with fire" was, then, no product of one man's exalted vision: it rose from a spectacle of sublime and unforgettable majesty, witnessed by an entire People. No argument could thereafter shake their conviction that they, of all mankind, had heard the voice of God speaking out of the midst of the fire and lived (Dt. iv., 33). From that day onwards the flames and thick darkness of Sinai held for the nation the central place of honour, a place unique and stupendous, in its history; and even when the years began to weave their fancies about the Mount of God, there still survived one unequivocal witness to the reality of its fiery Covenant, that strange Palladium of Yahweh, the Ark.

5. *The Ark and the Tables.*

When the Israelites emerged at last from their desert wanderings, there marched before them, borne shoulder-high by sacred guardians, a large chest of acacia wood (Josh. iii., 3, sq.).[13] According to early traditions this Chest had taken the place of the Pillar of Cloud and Fire as the leader of the people from the Mount of God onwards (Num. x., 33-36).[14] More than this, no forward movement was ever permitted without it: on the one recorded occasion when this rule was disregarded, the result has been a humilating defeat (Num. xiv., 44-45). Still more, so deep was the veneration felt for this mysterious object that, by a sanction claimed as that of Moses himself, it was addressed as if it were in very truth an outward and visible focus of the Divine Presence (Num. x., 35-36). Of its later history we can catch only scattered glimpses, and in all of them the same air of obscure and yet unquestioned sacrosanctity surrounds the Ark. As the Power before which the Jordan retreated and the walls of Jericho collapsed; as the Oracle consulted in times of crisis (Judges xx., 27); as the Champion of the armies of Israel in the battlefield (1 Sam. iv., 3; 2. Sam. xi., 11); and the Symbol of Divine Protection to their anointed King (2 Sam. xv., 24-25): it radiates in all its movements a supernatural energy, at once dreaded and revered, which may strike about it with fearful violence, and leave in its wake a trail of pestilence or instant death (1 Sam. v.; 2 Sam. vi., 6). Long years after its solemn enthronement in the Temple, the Ark remained for faint-hearted patriots the rallying-point of national resistance (Jeremiah iii., 16); then, on a sudden, it disappears for ever, and the mists of legend close over the secret of its end. (2 Macc. ii., 4 sq.).

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[13] It seems to have measured about 3 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. by 2ft. 3in. (Ex. xxv. 10.)

[14] This may be another indication that the Pillar was inseparable from the Mountain.

What were the significance and purpose of this strange cult-object, which could be addressed as if God were actually present in it, and yet, when marvellously recovered from enemy hands, could be left unattended for months in a private dwelling place (2 Sam. vi., 11)? That it was intimately connected with the Theophany on Sinai hardly admits of doubt. It has even been suggested that "it was intended originally as a substitute for the immediate presence of Jehovah" after the people had left his mountain.[15] If this were so, however, it is difficult to understand why this substitute should take the form of an empty box, a box being presumably intended to carry something.[16] What that "something" was, it would seem at first sight easy to decide, since our earliest extant source affirms quite clearly that Moses was instructed to make the Ark for the purpose of containing the two tables of stone (Deut. x., 1-5). The frequent references to it as the "Ark of the Covenant" or the "Ark of the Testimony" leave no doubt at all that this was the traditional explanation. The objection commonly advanced against it is that the extraordinary sanctity of the Ark cannot be adequately accounted for, if this were its sole purpose. "Tablets of the law do not imply the presence of the lawgiver."[17] Hence it has been suggested that what the Ark really contained was a "stone fetish, perhaps meteoric," which was reverenced by the primitive Israelites as an image of Yahweh.[18] Yet another view, less startling and much more reasonable, is that "the Ark contained a stone, or stones, from the sacred "mount of God," Horeb, which was regarded as an assurance of the protecting presence of Jehovah (whose abode was on Sinai, xx., 4) after [the Israelites] left it."[19] A brief study of these conflicting opinions will show that each of them is an attempt to supply the shortcomings of another, and yet that each of them falls short of conviction when it is itself put to the test. On the assumption that the tables of stone are not sufficient to account for the sanctity of the Ark, the Ark itself is held to be the symbol of the Divine Presence. Yet the presumption that it was the *contents* of the Ark, and *not* the Ark itself, which were in some way identified with Yahweh, is too strong to be resisted ; and the theory of a meteorite is next put forward. Plausible as this might seem were we dealing with the folk-lore of a primitive people, it can scarcely command acceptance when we are asked to imagine such a fetish as the very centre of the Mosaic cult of Yahweh. It is, of course, true that images of some kind were not uncommon amongst the people in their early days in Canaan, and that the calves of Jeroboam were apparently accepted without demur : yet it would be unsound for that reason to deny a higher inspiration to the lofty genius of Moses, while his destruction of the golden calf can hardly be dismissed as legend. Hence it is that we turn with some relief to the more acceptable suggestion of a stone, or stones, picked up from the slopes of Horeb ; and yet no sooner are they in our hands than we find that these, too, are not enough of themselves to solve the mystery. No mere stones, as such, could have commanded that veneration or have been thought to possess that supernatural energy, which are so inseparably connected with the Ark of God : nor is it clear why their presence within it should have linked it so closely with the Covenant and the Tables of Stone.

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[15] Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

[16] McNeile, *op. cit.* p. 162 sq.

[17] Benzinger, cited by McNeile, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[18] Stade, cited by McNeile, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[19] Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 280, citing Moore, *Ency. Bibl.*, i. 2155.

The circle is completed, and we are still left searching for a clue. At every step we seem to approach the solution, yet at every step it contrives to elude our grasp. May it not be counted as a merit of the hypothesis which we have advanced above, that, in providing that clue, it not only combines the majority of these diverse suggestions but reconciles them satisfactorily with the traditional Israelite explanation ? It is with this tradition that we must necessarily start, namely, that the Ark was an *adjunct*, made for one purpose and for one purpose only, to contain the tables of stone, which Moses brought down from Sinai. But what were these tables of stone ? In Ex. xxxii., 15-16 they are described as *written on both their sides* . . . . . *And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the* *writing of God, graven upon the tables.* These, it is true, were the tables which Moses is said to have broken at the foot of the Mount. In the subsequent narrative (Ex. xxxiv. 1. sq.) he was commanded to hew similar ones on which Yahweh would write the words which were on the first, though in xxxiv. 28, Moses is said to have performed the writing himself. It is well known to students that these two accounts, which are possible "doublets" of the same incident, present considerable difficulties and cannot be satisfactorily reconciled. It is enough, however, for our present purpose, if we accept the general statement, that the second tables, if they existed, were "like unto the first" and that both pairs bore "the writing of God, graven upon" them. One thing will be clear at once. If the stones themselves and the circumstances in which they were found, were of such a kind that belief in their Divine Authorship came readily, even to Moses, the whole difficulty with regard to the Ark would vanish away. What object could be more sacrosanct, could be more intimately connected with Yahweh, could be linked more closely with the Covenant revealed on Sinai, than these "tables" which, in the strangeness of their appearance and in the mysterious characters upon their faces, seemed to attest the very signature of God? What matter if no human eye could read those signs? What need of an interpreter, when Yahweh Himself had spoken from His Mount? Was it not evident that here, on enduring stone, He had inscribed with His own Hand His solemn ratification of the Covenant? Was it not clear that He had done the one thing needful, that He had given His People, in place of an unsubstantial memory, an abiding record of that great Compact, an effectual pledge of His Presence, an unfailing assurance of His protecting power? We need look no further for an explanation of the Ark, if we can find proof of some such happening as this.

Now it is a curious fact that while a volcano knows nothing, naturally, of meteorites, it does, not uncommonly, provide a phenomenon no less fantastic and to all appearances unearthly.

"When a volcano after a long period of repose starts into fresh activity, the materials which have accumulated in the crater. . . . have to be ejected. Such ejected blocks, by no means uncommon in the early stages of an eruption, are often of large size and naturally vary according to the character of the rocks through which the duct has been opened. They may be irregular masses of igneous rocks, possibly lavas of earlier eruptions, *or they may be stratified, sedimentary, and fossiliferous rocks,* representing the platform on which the volcano has been built.[20]"

The words italicised (by the present writer) are for us of peculiar interest. They suggest the possibility of a phenomenon precisely similar to that for which we have been searching, namely, that of a "slate" or "table" of some fissile rock, bearing on its surface a series or group of unreadable and yet apparently significant "characters." When to these mysterious and certainly non-human "signs" we add that strange transformation in texture and appearance which such a block must necessarily undergo from the effect of the volcanic fires, we have arrived within measurable distance of the solution of our problem. On the assumption that the Mount of God was a volcano we need find no difficulty in supposing that the Tables of the Covenant were themselves of volcanic origin. The Mount, the Tables, the Ark of the Covenant are thus inseparably connected. Once again, while we shall agree that these stones were removed by Moses from the slopes of Sinai, the reason for his action becomes, on this view, wholly intelligible. If he accepted them—as what man in that age and in the midst of such a scene would not?—for that which they seemed to proclaim themselves so clearly, the sign-manual of Yahweh given from the midst of the fire, was it not inevitable that he should carry them down, rejoicing, to his people? For Israel, these visible symbols of the Covenant would be of untold value; not, as the later writers thought, because they contained some written code of laws, but for the very mystery which clothed them and for the simple and solid fact of their existence. From that day onwards the sacred Ark which held them must have become for every faithful Israelite the focus of his faith and adoration; for there, by the testimony of all who had stood by the Mount, there lay concealed the tangible evidence of Divine favour, the Warrant, nay the very Angel, of the Nation's destiny.

And it came to pass, when the ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, O Lord and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee. And when it rested, he said, Return, O Lord, unto the ten thousands of the thousands of Israel. (Num. x. 35-36).

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[20] *Ency. Brit., loc. cit.,* p. 180.

The first part of our task is now accomplished. Acting on the familiar rule that an unusual effect posits an unusual cause, we have claimed, for the foundation of the Israelite tradition of the Theophany, a reality far more startling and impressive than has hitherto seemed to satisfy the majority of critics. We have examined, in particular, two features in the narrative which have never been adequately explained by those who are content with a "symbolism" derived from normal human customs and the normal phenomena of nature. We have endeavoured to show that neither the Pillar of Cloud and Fire nor the sacred Ark of the Covenant can be accounted for by any such reference to the common-place; and we have studied the hypothesis which seems alone to fulfil the exacting conditions pre-supposed by the unique history of Israel. In the course of this enquiry we have seen detail after detail fall into place and fit in with our central thesis, till we are induced to wonder, if Sinai was not after all a volcano, how it was that the ancient writers have so vividly conveyed that impression. If, on the other hand, our contention is correct, we may pass on to consider how the topography of *Exodus* assists us; and, finally, we may set ourselves in the path of the modern explorer, and search with him in that "great and terrible wilderness," where, cold and silent, still stands the "Mount of God."

NOTE.—Since the above was written, a curiously interesting parallel has been described in an article by the late T. A. Barns, F.R.G.S., which appeared in the *Illustrated London News* of March 15th, 1930, vol. 179, p. 419 *sq*. In the course of an expedition to the Land of the Giant Craters, which lies 125 miles west of Kilimanjaro, Mr. Barns came upon a sacred volcano, called by the Masai, Oldonyo-lengai, the "Mountain of God."

"The Masai look upon the volcano as sacred, and the source of all blessings and benefits for their race. The internal rumblings of 1917 [which preceded an eruption] were put down to bellowings of cattle that were to come out to enrich them. After the last eruption, and when it was safe to appoach, the Masai picketed the neighbourhood, allowing no one but a Masai to go near the volcano on pain of death." When Mr. Barns paid his own visit, he found that "owing to the superstitious awe in which the 'Mountain of God' is held by the Masai, no guides were forthcoming." At present the crater is once more quiescent, only "a thin film of vapour rises over the sharply cut edge of the narrow vent, but no glow is perceptible at night."

(*To be concluded.*)

EXCAVATION AT THE MONASTERY OF ST. EUTHYMIUS, 1929.

By Rev. D. J. Chitty.[1]

The Tomb Block stands in the centre of the ruins, and is separated from the north wall of the church by a Cistern Court, which was cleared partly last year, partly this year. The western side of this court is formed by a wall running north in the line of the west wall of the church, beyond which the series of cross-vaults in front of the church is continued. In the south-west corner of the court is a cemented tank; pottery in the cement proves this not to belong to the earliest nor to the latest times of the monastery. North of it, a sort of small rectangular stone basin projects from the wall, with a small water-channel running into the wall. Opposite this is the head of the cistern. There is in fact a later head laid on top of an older and more used one. The latter is differently orientated from the one on top of it, which conforms to the orientation of the church. Just east of this cistern-head, a round arch, now broken, crossed the court from the church wall to the western wall of the Tomb Block. Further east, another badly-built wall of late date once crossed the court from the church wall to the south-east corner of the original Tomb Block. The cistern appears to correspond to the limits of this court, being bounded by the wall last mentioned, the north wall of the church, the west wall of the court, and the south wall of the Tomb Block.

At the east, a wide passage is left between the later east wall and the wall of the corridors that run north from the church. This passage was on a lower level than the court. A square-headed doorway led from it into the vault under a north aisle of the church. The wall along its east side seems later than the north wall of the church, being built against a small buttress projecting from that. But it should still belong to the earlier period of the monastery. Two, if not three, blocked doorways are to be seen in it, leading into a vault to which now there is no entrance open.

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[1] Continued from *Q.S.*, January, pp. 43-47

Originally this passage seems to have continued open between this wall and the east side of the Tomb Block. But in the last period of the monastery, walls were built across it in line with the north and south walls of the Tomb Block, and the space thus enclosed was occupied with a narrow chamber, roofed with a vault raised on additional walls built against the old walls. This rubble vault is rather pointed. The doors in the north and south walls are pointed, that in the north wall being pressed west of the centre by a kind of stone couch or table occupying the north-east corner of the vault. In the east wall are two niches piercing the thickness of the new wall, and revealing the face of the old at their back. The northern niche is under a pointed arch. The southern niche is narrower and higher in the wall. Its top is rough, like the roof of the vault, but more or less circular. A tall square post-like stone was cemented in this, a fragment of inscription (re-used from elsewhere) forming part of a broken table against it in front. We opened up this niche, but it revealed nothing.

The vault appears to have only an earth floor. Just north of the centre, large stones laid on earth run across it to form a double barrier with a channel in the middle. The top of this barrier may mark the level of a plaster floor.

The wall which forms the east side of the corridor in which this vault is built, continues to form the east side of a court north of the Tomb Block. A staircase on a sort of flying buttress leads down into the court, and at the head of this, but *not directly opposite to it*, a threshold is to be seen on the top of what remains of the wall. Further excavation might explain this irregularity.

The upper part of the staircase is partly destroyed.

The lower part has remains of a stone wall running up its northern side. We have not excavated north of this. At the foot of the staircase, a wall after a short interval continues, westward, the line of the wall on the north side of the staircase, and at the same point, a wall begins parallel to it and to the line of the north wall of the Tomb Block, from which it is separated by the staircase leading down to the Tomb. There is thus formed a narrow passage opposite the foot of the upper staircase, leading westwards until it is blocked by the wall already mentioned as continuing northward the line of the west wall of the church. A door (through which we have not penetrated) is to be seen in the north wall of this passage. And at the west end of its south wall, a door with its lintel in place leads into the corridor which separates the west wall of the Tomb Block from the wall continuing the west wall of the church. This corridor was once vaulted in two bays of intersecting vaults, at the south end of which a staircase ran up southwards, then westwards, onto the platform in front of the church, blocking the corridor from the " cistern court."

Opening onto this corridor, a doorway was revealed in the middle of the west wall of the Tomb Block, thus proving the existence of a still unexcavated chapel on top of the Tomb chapel. It is very important that this should be cleared, but funds did not allow of it this season. We had proof that its walls were frescoed.

At the north end of the east wall of the corridor, north of the normal north wall of the Tomb Block, another doorway, with its lintel in place, stands at the head of the staircase which leads down eastwards, and then for three steps southward, into the Tomb Chapel.

This staircase has three of its flat sloping roof-slabs in place. Two of the stairs were broken down under a hole in this roof, and it was necessary to rebuild the staircase here for the safety of the rest of the staircase.

The Tomb Chapel itself, with its barrel vault running north and south, its broken altar, and tombed niches for Prothesis and diakonikon, was excavated last year. It remained, by examining under the rough and partly broken flagged floor, to reveal the nature of the Tomb.

In the middle of the chamber the floor was already destroyed, and here we found a small grave for one body—the saint is described as rather short—its sides and western end formed by large slabs set upright, its eastern end by a sort of wall, the whole not in quite the same orientation as the rest of the chamber. As no grave was found under the altar, there can virtually be no doubt that this was the saint's tomb, the marble slab which covered it having been destroyed and the body removed before or at the destruction of the monastery. This grave was empty. Between it and the altar we removed the upper floor slabs, to find that one of these was a fragment of chancel screen turned upside down, thus revealing how the floor had been relaid from time to time, as was natural in a cemetery. Under the upper floor was a filling of stones and plaster, then a roof of large stones, and under it a more or less open pit. This we cleared. Its floor was of clay, somewhat deeper than the floor of the saint's tomb, and probably representing the natural floor level of the cave as the saint found it when he came to live there--the clay contained no "find." The pit extended in rectangular shape south of the line of the altar, where we did not need to remove its flagged roof. In front of the altar it contained a mass of fine earth, containing small bones from at least fifteen bodies, including five children; and very many fragments of lamps with three whole ones. Two of these were adorned with crosses, one of them having the word ANACTACIC stamped on its under side. Other fragments included cross-shaped lamp-handles.

The pit was bounded to the east by a solid cement foundation for the altar, which was hardly to be pierced by a pick, and revealed nothing. To the north it was bounded by a built wall, behind which was a grave which we were able to examine without removing its flagged roof. It contained seven skeletons, of which two or perhaps three were in place at full length, while the others were no doubt older burials, taken out to make room for the new bodies, and then replaced more or less haphazard.

After examining these interments as far as possible, we covered them in again and refilled the hole up to the floor level, first replacing the small bones in the pit in front of the altar, with the bones from the other vault.

In conclusion, I must add that I was assisted in the excavation by Lieut.-Commander Buchanan (who was responsible for the planning, etc.), and Mr. M. Marcoff. I have also to thank the Rev. Père Barrois, O.P., for the planning of the Tomb, and other invaluable assistance; and Mr. Donald MacInnes for his examination of the bones.

SOME NOTES ON RECENT WORKS ON PALESTINIAN EPIGRAPHY.

By Rabbi A. Marmostein, Ph.D.

(A.) Beth Alpha.

The new German *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. IV., cols. 388-393, brings under the title: "Excavations in Beth Alpha," an account of the archeological finds in that place with two illustrations. The first gives the mosaic, the second the Holy Ark in the mosaic of that synagogue. Neither the writer of this article, Dr. E. L. Sukenik, nor of the previous on Beth Alpha, Dr. M. Zagorovski, found it necessary to instruct us as to the historical name of the place. Is Beth Alpha the ancient name of the place, where the discoveries have been made? From the scanty material for orientation at my disposal I would locate the place between Hadara (Gadara) and Caesarea (Maritima)[1]. No student of Jewish history, or Rabbinic literature need be reminded of the importance of Caesarea for his studies, although no good monograph on the subject is yet available. The inscriptions are in Greek and Aramaic. The former preserved the name of the artists, *e.g.*, Marianos, and his son Aninas, both names frequently occur in Rabbinic writings. The latter, in Aramaic bears the information that the Holy Ark was made during the rule of King Justinus, *i.e.*, between A.D. 517-528. The Ark is really, to judge from the illustration furnished in the article, a wonderful piece of art. The mosaic is almost completely preserved, and may be useful for the reconstruction and the better understanding of the mosaic found in Ain Duk. There are on the mosaic pictures of the Ark with lamps of seven arms on both sides, a Lulab, and Ethrog, a Trumpet and Scrolls, and two lions each on the side of the ark. Wonderful must be the picture of the sun, sitting in a chariot drawn by four horses, around the symbols of the twelve months, and the four seasons (*Tekuphoth*). A third group pictures the sacrifice of Isaac, according to the Biblical narrative. A full and speedy reproduction, with the inscriptions and indications, would be very welcome. Without further information it is very difficult to enlarge on and interpret this material. One point may be raised here. The picture of the Sun in the chariot drawn by four horses occurs also in the Pirke of R. Elieser, ch. 6, where the Sun rides in a chariot. The only difference between the mosaic and the Pirke is that in the latter the chariot is drawn not by four horses, but by 400 angels. In pseud-epigraphic writings, like the Slavonic and Ethiopic Enoch, as well as in the Apocalypse of Baruch, the chariot of the Sun is also mentioned.

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[1] Thus according to S. Klein, *Erez Israel*, Vienna, 1922 p. 51, which according to L. Sukenik, *Tarbiz*, II (1930), p. III, is incorrect, for the place is to be located in the Emek (Valley) of Jezreel. In this article Sukenik provides some more details about the Synagogue and mosaics of Beth Alpha (with illustrations) pp. 111-117. On the inscriptions, see further on.

(B.) THE CATHEDRA OF MOSES IN THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUES.

Under this title there appeared an article in the first number of a new periodical, called *Tarbiz*, issued by the Hebrew University under the able editorship of Professor Dr. I. N. Epstein, which may be reviewed here. The reference in Matth. xxiii., 2, has made the "seat of Moses" (Μωυσεως καδέθρας), famous for all times. Bacher has referred to a saying of R.Acha (Pal., after 300), who mentions a קתדרא דמשה (*Pesikta*, ed. Buber, 7*a*, see *R.E.J.*, xxxiv. 299). New archeological finds enlighten us as to the real meaning of this phrase. See the synagogues in Delos, excavated in the years 1912–3 (see *Mélanges Holleaux*, Paris, 1913, *Revue Biblique*, 1914, p. 524), in Tiberias (Hamath Tiberias), and in Korazin (see *Q.S.*, 1927, p. 51. and my corrections *ibid*, p. 51). Dr. Sukenik is against my identification of Judan b. Ishmael, with a scribe of the same name, who lived in the third century, A.D. But I did not suggest the identification, I merely drew attention to the similar names. The identification depends on the date of the inscription, and the geographical whereabouts of the scribe. Both are uncertain. I cannot see any harm in the suggestion advanced by me. More serious is the writer's handling of the inscription. The first editor, Mr. Ory read the third line: ודרג ותמ[ם] פעלה . I read: ודרגות מפעלה; and Dr. Sukenik wants to read: ודרגיה דפילה יהי. As the editor of the *Tarbiz* has shown that this reading is impossible, no further comment need be made on it. There can be no doubt as to the correct reading as given in my previous note.

As to the literary references to the "Cathedra of Moses," neither Bacher nor Sukenik exhausted the more or less easily accessible material. In a story published in the *R.E.J.* xxxiii., 59, we hear of a cathedra made of gold in a synagogue. *Lam. r.* 1, 4, speaks of a man of Jerusalem, who arrived in a city, and the people made for him a cathedra, where he sat, and people listened to his wisdom. The members of the Synhedrion used to sit on such cathedras (see *Lam. r.* 2, 18). A teacher R. Drosai informs us about the "Cathedra of Moses." It was like the cathedras of the *Scholastikoi* (lawyers, advocates). They appeared as if they stood before the judge, in fact they were sitting (Ex. r. 73, 4, Tan^{h}. B. *Beshallah* 17, Jalk. Ex. § 255). It can be gathered that the *cathedra* was a portable piece either of stone, gold, or perhaps wood.

(C.) Ain-Duk.

In my article "To the history of the Jews in Palestine during the Fifth Century," which I contributed to the Memorial Volume in honour of A. M. Lunz (*Jerusalem*, 1928, pp. 41-50), attention is drawn to the fact that the ancient Ain Duk, known as Neoran, was inhabited by Jews before the fifth century. R. Aibo (Palest. IVth cent.) enumerates five cities with large Jewish populations, which are surrounded by pagan cities, not very friendly to the Jews. Among them figures Neoran next to Jericho. Attention may also be called to the fact that poets like Eleasar Kalir and R. Phinehas remember in their liturgical compositions the 12 months, the 12 tribes, the 12 planets, the 12 precious stones, the four seasons, etc. (see my "Kiddushe de Rabbi Phinehas," reprint from *Hazofe*, Vol V., 1921, pp. 1-31; and additions, *ibid.*, VI., 1923, pp. 1-14.). These poets, like the preachers of the Haggada, must have had before their eyes these newly discovered mosaics in Ain Duk, or Beth Alpha, calling the attention of their hearers to these signs. The sacrifice of Isaac, found in Beth Alpha, or the story of the flood, discovered in Jerash, were themes very often elaborated by orators and liturgical composers. No wonder that they can be seen on the mosaics. This close connection between liturgy and homiletics on one side, and archeology on the other side, which was never duly considered, has to be emphasized.

(D.) THE LETTERS ל AND ר.

When I recently visited Dr. S. A. Cook, he kindly showed me Father Vincent's description of the mosaic found in Ain Duk. which he is utilising in his forthcoming Schweich Lectures on "The Religious Archæology of Palestine." He pointed out to me that the end letters of the partly missing Tekuppah Tishri, read לי. I suggested that in Rabbinic writings the change between ל and ר is very frequent. I will now offer a few instances : Pal. *Maccoth*, II., 2, where a variant between משולה and משורה can be found ; Bab. *Bab. Bathra*, 147a between בלול and ברור, further בולסוף and בורסוף, Gen. r. 38, 17, and פלהדרין = פרהדרין, see Elbogen, *Studien zur Gesch. des jüd. Gottesdienstes*, p. 103. These instances can easily be increased, but for our present needs they may suffice. For earlier observations and other instances of these changes see S. J. Rappoport, *Letters*, p. 46.

AN ARAB-SYRIAN GENTLEMAN AND WARRIOR IN THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES.[1]

THIS volume is a translation by Mr. Philip K. Hitti of the *Kitab al-I'tibar* (lit. "learning by example") the chief, and last, work of *Usāmah ibn-Munqudh.* Usāmah was a warrior, a great sportsman, a poet and man of letters. He came of princely family which owned the fortified town of Shayzar situated on a hill precipitously rising above the Orontes and surrounded by that river on three sides. It is the Senzar and Sezar of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II and the Tell el-Amarna letters, the Sidzara of the Greeks, the Sezer of the Byzantines. Some of the Western historians, including William of Tyre, refer to it as Cæsarea ad Orontem, but the Arabic name is Shayzar and survives as Sayzar, the name of the present day village, situated wholly within the imposing remains of the historic castle.

The castle is 15 miles north of Hamah on the road between it and Ladhiqiyyeh on the coast, and its situation as dominating the road southwards along the Orontes Valley accounts for its age-long importance.

In 1025 the lands around came into the possession of the Munqidhite family, but the town and castle was not taken actual possession of till Sidid al Mulk, the grandfather of Usāmah, acquired it for the Byzantine Emperor in 1081. It was held by three successive generations of the family until in 1157 an earthquake destroyed Shayzar and all the family of the Munqidhites were buried in the ruins except the wife of Tajal Dawlah the first cousin of Usāmah.

"These memoirs are a unique piece of Arabic literature. They open before our eyes a wide and new vista into mediæval times and constitute an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of Arabic culture, in itself as well as in its relation to Western thought and practice."

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[1] *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades.* Memoirs of Usāmah ibn-Munqudh. Translated by Philip K. Hitti, New York. Columbia University Press, 1929. Price $4.50.

Usāmah must have dictated his book at the age of ninety. His hand was then too feeble to carry a pen. He here, in a series of delightful stories, reviews his past life and experiences. The author intends his book to be didactic—hence its title. His favourite theme, of which he does not tire, is that the duration of a man's life is predetermined and that its end cannot be either retarded or advanced by anything he may do or not do. Exposure to perils and danger does not affect in the least the allotted term of life. So too "Victory in warfare is from Allah and is not due to organization and planning."

His anecdotes are arranged by the association of ideas. One happening suggests to his memory another happening, because of similarity or dissimilarity, comparison or contrast. Throughout he appears to strive to be fair—even to the Franks—and accurate. The reader is conscious of this even when the narrative is quite incredible.

Usāmah died in Damascus the year after the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin and was buried on the northern bank of the Yazid, one of the Canals of the Barada.

The book is divided : war experiences, rare anecdotes and hunting experiences : and each section is crowded with incidents which together make the world of this old gentleman very vivid and real.

To me the delightful picture he draws of his father and of his hunting experiences are the most attractive of all. It is astonishing to read of the many incidents of lion hunting in a district where the lion has been now so many centuries extinct. The great fondness of the Moslem and the Franks for the chase may have brought this about. As one reads of the exploits of lion hunts, it vividly recalls the many Assyrian pictures of the same kind of hunting. Here is one incident. In the citadel of the Bridge at Shayzar was "one of our companions" by name of ibn-al-Ahmar who on a journey passed a caravan. "The caravan saw a lion. Ibn-al-Ahmar had a javelin which was shining in the sun. The members of the caravan shouted to him 'O thou with the shining wood, attack the lion.' Moved by shame on account of their cries, he charged the lion. The mare shied with him in the saddle; so he fell. The lion came and crouched on his back. But since Allah desired his safety, the lion was satiated with food. The lion bit a mouthful of his face and forehead, wounded his face and began to lick the blood while crouching over him without killing him." He managed to struggle from under the lion and climbed into a tree. The lion lay down under the tree until, on the approach of a caravan it pricked up its ears and rushed away. The lion stories are many—a lion kills a slave, a (tame) lion is chased by a sheep, a dog saves his master from a lion, a man kills a lion, but is killed by a scorpion and so on. This last mentioned tale is worth quoting :—

A lion was seen lying on the bank of the river right beneath the hill and a man proceeded to attack him with bow and arrow. The lion saw him and sprang toward him, but the man shot his arrow and killed him. He then proceeded to the river to bathe, but when dressing was noticed to fall to one side and remain still and when the onlookers descended to him, they found him lying dead with a small scorpion which had bitten his big toe in his shoe. " So we were amazed at the case of this hero who killed a lion, but was killed by a scorpion as big as a finger. How mysterious, therefore, are the works of Allah, the Almighty, whose will is always executed among his creatures."

The picture Usāmah draws of his father is a most pleasing one. He had two interests in life—the copying of the Koran and hunting. He wrote a magnificent hand and when he came to die he left 43 copies each containing the full text, one a huge one written in gold including its different readings, its obscure terms, its Arabic style and grammar, etc. The copy written in various colours was called the great commentary. The old man when dying desired that all his copies should be placed under his cheek in his grave.

But he had another side of his life. He kept hunting falcons, dogs and cheetahs. The story of hunting falcon *Al-Yahsun* is fascinating. " Of the marvellous traits of this falcon, and it certainly had many of them, I shall only recount the few which I still remember." Then there is the large cheetah, trained for hunting, which had a maid to look after it, to dress its hair with a comb and make its bed.

But to many—as more historically illuminating—the many stories of martial combats will most appeal. Usāmah's earliest experiences in this connection relate to the Fatimite caliphs and a blood stained record it is.

Of contests with the Franks there are many. They are often called "devils" and "infidels" but he writes of the Knights Templars as "his friends." Of the oft repeated accusation of want of faith on the part of the Franks there is an outstanding illustration here. After safe conduct had been granted to Usāmah's family they were attacked in the presence of King Baldwin III himself as they approached Akka by sea and all the jewellery, swords, weapons and gold and silver were taken, but most bitter of all Usāmah library of 4,000 volumes. "Their loss has left a heartsore that will stay with me to the last day of my life."

Altogether this book is one of quite unique interest and these few extracts give but an imperfect idea of its contents. The narratives are wonderfully told, the style is charming, and the translation most carefully done. Above all the spirit of the writer, his attitude to life and his surroundings, his rare insight into human nature and his unfailing sense of humour make this a book which no lover of the Orient should fail to read.

E. W. G. M.

THE LARGE-SCALE SURVEY OF PALESTINE.

It is well known that the survey of Palestine on the scale of 1 : 20,000 is in progress. This scale is approximately 3 inches to one mile, and occupies an intermediate position between the scales which we, in the British Isles, are most accustomed to, namely, one-inch to one mile and six-inches to one-mile. Up to this date nine sheets of the 1 : 20,000 have been received at the office of the Palestine Exploration Fund, having been presented by the courtesy of the Director of Surveys in Palestine, Captain C. H. Ley, C.B.E.

We have recently been sent the Annual Report of the Director of Survey for the year 1928, and though the Report is now more than a year out of date, it contains much matter of present interest. The first point reported upon is the junction of the principal triangulation of Palestine with that of Syria. The observations which connected the two systems were, by mutual agreement, carried out by a French party under Captain Tardi, in October, 1928. It appears that the linear discrepancy amounted to one part in 175,000, which shows a very satisfactory standard of accuracy. Both the Palestine and the Syrian triangulations are computed with the figure of the earth known as Clarke's 1880 figure. There are, as would be expected, slight differences in the astronomical elements, which are, no doubt, chiefly due to what is known as "local attraction." These slight differences in no way affect the accuracy of either system; but one day, perhaps, they will be reconciled by a simultaneous reduction.

The next matter of general interest that may be noted is the determination of mean sea level at Jaffa and Haifa, and of the mean surface level of the Dead Sea and of the Sea of Galilee. It appears that at Jaffa, the range of ordinary spring tides was about 40 centimetres, or about 16 inches.

There is the same range at Haifa. With regard to the fluctuations of level of the surface of the Dead Sea and of the Sea of Galilee, the Report states: "Observations of the surface-level of the Dead Sea have been continued daily and the seasonal variations are shown [in a diagram], in which for comparison are also shown the variations of water-level of Lake Tiberias observed by the Public Works Department. The diagram shows that the régimes of the two seas are of similar annual nature, that the Tiberias flood is nearly twice that of the Dead Sea in amplitude, that it precedes the latter by at least six weeks, occurring early in April soon after the winter rains, but that the mean level of each sea for several years prior to November last has been falling. The phenomena are clearly due to meteorological causes operating with the Lebanon as controlling orographic factor, and the difference in phase between the respective floods and ebbs appears indicative of the lag due to the highly convoluted 200 mile course of the Jordan River." The diagram referred to shows that the extreme range of height of surface of the Sea of Galilee between the spring value (high) and the autumn value (low) is about four feet. The range of height of the surface of the Dead Sea, between the summer value (high) and the winter value (low), is about two feet.

The Report also gives interesting, but necessarily technical, details of the progress of the original detail survey on the scale of 1 : 10,000, from which the 1 : 20,000 plans are reduced ; of the block plans on the scale of 1 : 2,500 for the land settlement ; and of the town surveys. It is stated that, in some instances, the chain survey of closely built villages has to be carried out by chaining over the roofs. It is mentioned that arrangements for a small hill-contouring party have been approved, and that is very good news to all interested in the accurate delineation of the topography of Palestine.

The results of the survey up to date may be summarized briefly by saying that the principal triangulation is completed ; the third order triangulation covers the whole of Palestine north of Bethlehem and, in addition, there is a strip along the coast as far south as the Egyptian frontier ; the fourth order, a closer network, covers about half this area ; at least nine sheets of the topo-cadastral series on the scale of 1 : 20,000 have been printed and published ; a great deal of work on the large scale of 1 : 2,500, about 25 inches to a mile, has been carried out for the land settlement. All this is excellent news and we shall look forward to the continued prosecution of this important survey and eventually to a completely new and accurate map of the country, to the benefit, not only of the inhabitants for whom it is primarily being carried out, but also of all, who, like the members of our Fund, are interested in the topography and archæology of the Holy Land.

11 June. C. F. Close.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	**English.**		**Hebrew.**	**English.**
א	’		כ	k̲h̲
בּ	b		ל	l
ב	b̲h̲		מ	m
גּ	g		נ	n
ג	g̲h̲		ס	s
דּ	d		ע	‘
ד	d̲h̲		פּ	p
ה	h		פ	f
ו	v, w		צ	ẕ
ז	z		ק	ḵ
ח	ẖ		ר	r
ט	ṯ		שׁ	s̲h̲
י	y		שׂ	s̱
כּ	k		תּ	t
			ת	t̲h̲

ARABIC.

Arabic.	**English.**		**Arabic.**	**English.**
ا	’		ض	ḏ
ب	b		ط	ṯ
ت	t		ظ	t̲z̲
ث	t̲h̲		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	g̲h̲
ح	ẖ		ف	f
خ	k̲h̲		ق	ḵ
د	d		ك	k
ذ	d̲h̲		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	s̲h̲		و	w
ص	ẕ		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund have decided not to proceed with the further excavation of the hill Ophel at present, although they realise that there is still more to be done there some day. The Committee wish to devote all their resources to the proposed excavation of the site of the city of Samaria. This is to be undertaken by the Board of Oriental Studies of Harvard University and the Palestine Exploration Fund acting conjointly. It is to be hoped that there will be a liberal response to the appeal for funds for this great undertaking, and that all British subscriptions for this purpose will be paid through the Palestine Exploration Fund, which has undertaken to raise a considerable sum annually as long as the work lasts. (See *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1930, pp. 75-76.) Mr. Crawfoot, the Director of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, is to be the Director of the Excavations, and he will have the valued assistance of Dr. Sukenik, of the Hebrew University, who has helped in our work at Ophel.

In Professor Garstang's article on Jericho in the July *Q.S.* there is a misprint in the description of Plate IV., " gorse " should be " fosse."

During the past few months the archæological interest of the Press has been focussed upon three events. The first has been the discoveries in Babylonia, by Mr. Leonard Woolley, and the exhibition at the British Museum. Here the evidence for the Flood, or rather *some* great flood, naturally seized popular imagination, though among other interesting discoveries were remains of a temple of Nebuchadrezzar, the best preserved temple as yet unearthed. Second, Sir Flinders Petrie's annual exhibition at Gower Street, and lectures on his season's work at Tell Fara (which he identifies with Beth-Pelet) have been noteworthy for the light thrown upon Neolithic objects, the Hyksos period, the Egyptian residency, and other interesting matters, such as the models of dogs (which invited reference to the " dog " clan Caleb—also a well-known early

Arab tribe), and the jar-seals with the figures of a Syrian god standing on a lion. Finally Professor Garstang's work at Jericho (summarised by him in the July issue of the *Q. S.*) has shown that the period round about 1400 B.C. (the " Amarna age ") must be regarded as the great landmark in the history and religion of Ancient Palestine ; and readers of Mr. James Baikie's *The Amarna Age* (A. & C. Black, 1926) will remember that what he describes in his sub-title as " the crisis of the ancient world," was one of the most significant turning points in human history. Meanwhile it is very noteworthy how prominent is the Palestine of this, the Pre-Davidic period ; it is extraordinary how little light has as yet been thrown directly upon the archæological background of the Hebrew monarchies.

The Eighteenth International Oriental Congress will be held in Leiden, September 7-12, 1931. The Congress Committee have sent out this, their first intimation, and request that it be made known, so that the co-operation of all interested can be secured, and the Congress made a success.

Annual No. 5 (see advertisement on back cover of *Quarterly Statement*) contains Mr. Crowfoot's report on his work at Ophel and the Tyropoeon Valley during the excavating season of 1927. He was assisted by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald, Assistant-Director of the British School of Archæology, who has written the second part of the book dealing with the pottery and smaller finds, while Mr. Crowfoot describes the building and levels, analysing the stratification of the site from the earliest times to the Arab Conquest and the Crusading period. The volume contains as frontispiece the Old Gate from the north-west, 22 other plates, and 21 illustrations, there are 131 pages of letterpress and an index. Price 31s. 6d. to non-members.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archæology in Egypt dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

Miss C. M. Finn has kindly presented 500 copies of *Palestine Peasantry : Notes on their Clans, Warfre, Religion and Laws*, being a reprint of the work of her mother, the late Mre. E. A. Finn, who, with Consul Finn, lived in Palestine for over seventeen years, and devoted much time to a study of the social divisions and conditions of the inhabitants some fifty or more years ago, and argues that the modern Arab Fellahin are descendants of the ancient Canaanites. This interesting little book of 95 pages is on sale at 7*d.* per copy, post free.

Antiques for Sale.—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

Mr. H. C. Luke's translation and annotation of a 16th century MS., under the title of *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land*, is on sale at 4*s.* bound in cloth, and 2*s.* 6*d.* in paper covers.

The new plan of Jerusalem on a scale of approximately 1 : 5,000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5*s.* ; mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9*s.* The latter form is the more convenient, as owing to its size the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

The library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains some duplicate volumes. They may be purchased, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found p. 169.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions from :—

	£	s.	d.
George Mathieson, Esq.	25	0	0
Miss E.M. Courthope (for equal division P.E.F. and B.S.A.J.)...	10	0	0
Cambridge Museum of Archæology and Ethnology...	5	0	0
Miss A. M. Parker	1	1	0

The *Annual Report*, with Accounts and List of Subscriptions for 1929, was issued to Members of the P.E.F. with the April number.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £15 15s. Subscriber's price £14 14s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5 except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Randall, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund (see address on cover).

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Near East and India.

The Journal of Egyptian Archæology. May: Egypt and the Ægean in the Late Bronze Age, by J. D. S. Pendlebury.

The Antiquaries Journal. July: The law and practice of treasure trove, by G. H. Hill.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine.

The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

The Expository Times. July: Biblical archæology, by the Rev. J. W. Jack; the Cambridge Ancient History and the Old Testament, II., by the Rev. W. M. Mathieson; Manna, by the Rev. A. S. Langley.

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, No. 8. Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor, 1929, by H. H. von der Osten.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. April: Third campaign of excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim, by W. F. Albright; the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem, by Charles L. Taylor, Jr.

Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archæological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 *and* 1909. *Division I.* Geography and Itinerary, by H. C. Butler, F. A. Norris and E. R. Stoever.

The American Journal of Philology. li, 2: Review of Heidel's *The Day of Yahweh,* by E. Riess.

Journal of the American Oriental Society. March: The Sea-land of Arabia, by R. P. Dougherty.

The Geographical Review. July: Tribal areas and migration lines of the North Arabian Bedouins, by C. R. Raswan.

The Museum Journal (*University of Pennsylvania*). September-December, 1929: The boudoir of Queen Shubad of Ur, by L. Legrain; gem-cutters in ancient Ur, by the same; scientific notes on the finds from Ur, by A. Kenneth Graham.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research. January: A "new" representation of the tower of Babel, by Th. Dombart (in German): the rights and revenues of the tribe of Levi, by J. A. Maynard.

The Homiletic Review.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York).

Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars Quarta: Inscriptiones Himyariticas et Sabæas Continens, iii, fascic. 1.

Syria, Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archeologie, xi, 1: A new inscription discovered at Byblos, by Maurice Dunand; a Syro-Egyptian cylinder, by Alfred Boissier; the excavations at Ramet el-Khalil, near Hebron, by A. Dupont-Sommer; archæological mission in the Upper Jezireh, 1928, by P. A. Poidehard, etc.

Journal Asiatique.

Zeitschrift fur die Alttestament. Wissenschaft. lxx, 2-3: The Sabbath, by J. Meinhold, also by K. Budde; the right of asylum in Israel, by N. M. Nicolsky; the share of N. Israel in the restoration of the temple-worship, by Adam C. Welch.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins. liii, 2: Samaria, by the late Dr. Valentin Schwöbel; a journey through Palestine, by A. Jirku.

Palästinajahrbuch. Vol. xxv. Senacherib in Palestine, by W. Rudolph, with a note by Alt; a Jewish-Christian monument in Transjordania; a new fragment of a Roman mile-stone (on the road from Jerusalem to Eleutheropolis), and full report of the session, by the Director, Prof. A. Alt; Roman streets and stations in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, by Kuhl and Meinhold.

Göttingsche Gelehrte Anzeigen.

Theologische Mitteilungen (Catalogue; Liebisch, Leipzig). May: P. Thomsen on tours in Palestine.

Biblica. April-June: The excavations of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in the valley of the Jordan, by A. Mallon; the site of the Pentapolis, by E. Power.

Bollettino dell'Associazione Internazionale degli Studi Mediterranei; II.

Bible Lands. July: Well-known trees and shrubs of Palestine and Syria, by Algernon Ward.

La Revue de l'Académie Arabe.

Al-Mashrik.

The Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society, x, 1: Topographical researches in Galilee, by A. Saarisalo; recent epigraphic discoveries in Palestine (2 articles), by W. R. Taylor; the site of Bethsaida, by C. McCown; a synagogue inscription from Beit Jibrin, by E. L. Sukenik; notes on Prehistoric Palestine, by R. Neuville.

From Mr. Pilcher: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.
The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.
Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.
K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israliten.* (Leipzig, 1837).
Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath* already in the Library; subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement,* the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of——— to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund: and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THREE RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE.

By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A.

Director of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem.

Teleilat Ghassūl.

The Rev. Père A. Mallon, S.J., with the assistance of M. René Neuville, has been conducting excavations in the name of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, on the site of a very old city in the Jordan valley[1]. The site lies some 5 kilometres north of the Dead Sea on the east side of the river, and consists of a group of mounds which hardly rise above the level of the plain. These mounds are called *Teleilat Ghassul, Ghassul* being the name of a small bush identified by Mr. Dinsmore with *Salsola rigida* and *teleilat* the plural of a diminutive of the word *tell.* The name therefore throws no light upon the history or the identification of the place, but its high antiquity was evident before any excavations were undertaken, by the numbers of flints, broken quern stones, fragments of hand-made pottery, etc., which lay upon the surface.

In two short campaigns the excavators have uncovered some of the remains of one of the oldest cities in Palestine. The city seems to have been destroyed by fire before the Early Bronze Age and never to have been occupied again. Hence there is no contamination with later periods, and the difficulties which arise in sites like Jericho or Gezer do not occur. Hence, too, of course, the lowness of the mounds. The work of excavation is still in the initial stage, and though some instructive finds have been made, we may expect that a second season's work will provide many additional details. At present no trace of a city wall has been found, nor any public buildings: on the other hand a considerable number of houses have been cleared, and the plans of these show an extraordinary degree of uniformity. All the houses are rectangular in plan; one of the best preserved measures 15 metres by 6.20 and contained two rooms, the smaller one only 1·80 metres across. Inside the houses were some traces of hearths and carefully built pits which Père Mallon believes to have been silos, some of them more than a metre below the bottom of the walls. Perhaps the most interesting feature, however, is the material of which the walls are built. These are constructed of stones and sun-dried bricks, but some of the latter are of a type which is quite new to us: they seem to have been shaped by hand without the use of a mould, the impressions of the fingers are still visible, and the bricks are of two forms, one vaguely rectangular in shape, the other more or less circular with one flat side. Examples of the former measure cm. 27 × 20 × 12, 20 × 18 × 15, and 18 × 16 × 12: two examples of the semi-spherical type measure cm. 18 in diameter by 12 high, and 16 in diameter by 11 high.

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[1] See *Biblica*, 11 [1930], pp. 3—22.

The rectangular plan of the houses and the uniformity of the arrangements within them are characteristic of an advanced and orderly community, and the smaller objects found show that the people, though not metal workers, had made considerable progress in other crafts, such as agriculture and textile and ceramic work.

In flint, a great many chisels, scrapers, borers and knives were found. The most characteristic form is a circular or fan-shaped scraper of a type which was also abundant on the neolithic sites near Tell el-Fara, which were explored last winter by the British School of Archæology in Egypt.

The other finds in stone include saddle querns, mortars, pestles, mace-heads, polished axe-heads and spindle-whorls, but the most interesting of the smaller finds are the pots. Much of the pottery was of good quality, the paste is generally mixed with white particles of limestone or brown splinters of flint, the burning fairly uniform and the colour of the best ware a pale red. The shapes include small cups, plates and goblets, jars of different sizes, and large vessels of a coarser type which the discoverers compare with Greek *pithoi*. The most interesting pieces already published are some conical vases, some with pointed ends, others rounded, some chalices with hollow stands and a pot in the shape of a bird.

Many of the smaller pieces are decorated with painted geometrical designs, usually horizontal bands, more rarely vertical bands or chevrons, in red, brown, yellow or white. Other pieces are decorated with incised designs or designs in relief: one of the latter apparently represents a serpent.

Handles are rare, but small pierced lugs arranged generally in pairs, both horizontally and vertically, are very common.

The remains are obviously those of a developed and even luxurious culture, and it is natural that the question should be raised, whether this city is one of the famous cities of the plain. It was certainly destroyed by a great fire for a thick layer of ashes was found in many places, but the cities of the plain were not the only cities which were burnt down, and in cities of the time of Abraham we should expect to find much more metal. At present there is nothing to throw light on the religion of the place, unless a ritual significance is to be attached to the serpent on the pottery and to the discovery of an infant's skull enclosed in a pot. We hope that more decisive evidence as to the character and history of the site may be found when the excavations are resumed again.

2. Beth Shemesh.

The new work at Beth Shemesh will be of special interest to old supporters of the Palestine Exploration Fund, who are familiar with the work carried out there before the war by Dr. Duncan Mackenzie on behalf of the Fund. Dr. Grant, the Director of the new expedition, has kindly sent me the following notes on the last season's work :—

" In the October *Quarterly Statement*, 1929, is a map of the hill top Rumeileh showing the work of digging (both the part there shaded as actually dug 1929 and the part shaded as proposed 1929, were finally dug before the close of the season 1929—December 1st). The proportions, to the whole hill, as excavated in 1928 (South-West) and in 1929 (North-West) may there be calculated. This year (1930) we are digging a strip eastward from the eastern scarp of the two preceding seasons (1928 and 1929).

" The 1929 season ran between 4 and 5 months, July-December. The first month or six weeks were largely devoted to extra-mural exploration, West and North-West of the city. Several more Israelite tombs continuing the series opened by Mackenzie (P.E.F.) at the North-West were cleaned. A small carnelian seal, very well made and appropriate pottery, was found. It had been left behind by those who had opened the tombs before us, probably illicit workers. Materials were found at the North-West edge of the hill flank which suggests the passage of folk in Seleucidan times—pottery and coins: probably the relics of transients rather than residents.

" A number of attractive museum pieces were recovered from Canaanite Cemetery I. and Cistern I. which were closed secretly at the end of the 1928 season and reopened at the beginning of the 1929 season.

Toward the end of August, 1929, we were nearing the intromural area, and had found a strong defensive tower, North-West, just outside the main course of the great city wall. The connections between this tower and the city wall were broken.

" Just east of the tower, but within the city, was a palatial house of Late Bronze Age. In the Early Iron Age the city wall was repaired so as to protect what had been the house area, but so as to leave quite without the city the tower and its breached connection with old wall.

" 1929 was a season of cisterns. Four or five were opened and cleared in the latter part of the season. The contents showed use by Bronze Age Canaanites.

" 1929 favoured us with a goodly number of interesting seals and considerable jewellery. More important, however, was the fact that we came on distinct remains of Middle Bronze Age house walls to correspond with the M.B. City Wall, and M.B. burial remains, both found in 1928.

" A contour map was made for the hill and environs. It was learned later than the P.E.F. had made one, a copy of which they courteously sent to us.

" The Great Street found in 1928 was shown to turn around the western face of the temple discovered that year, and to lead in a northerly direction.

" Most of the remaining results of our expedition were confirmatory of known facts from other years. The poorest age for the city was that from 900-700 B.C. or later, when the population lived nearer the rim of the city, near or over the stumps of the old city wall. The main racial features of Beth Shemesh were probably always Canaanite to the last. Conquerors, Philistine, or Israelite, provided masters, but probably not the major part of the population."

3. Megiddo.

Until 1928 the operations of the Oriental Institute of Chicago University were confined to the south-east portion of the *tell*, the part, that is, lying south-east of the great trench which Schumacher drove across the site before the war. It is on this section that Mr. Guy, whom I have to thank for giving me the substance of these notes, uncovered the remains of the "Solomonic" stables and clear evidence that the old town of that period was laid out on a systematic plan. These discoveries led to a change in the scheme of operations. It was decided to extend the field of work forthwith over the whole of the summit of the *tell* before excavating deeper on the south-east section. The *tell* measures about 13½ acres, and Mr. Rockefeller generously provided funds to enable Government to expropriate the area required, on which work has been concentrated during the last season.

The surface soil has now been cleared from the whole of the newly-acquired part north-west of Schumacher's trench, and, although no walls have yet been removed, the remains of various periods have been disclosed.

In the earlier work on the south-east section, four strata were distinguished, the "Solomonic" stables being assigned to the earlier of these, *i.e.*, Stratum IV: in the new work there are very few traces of Stratum I which the excavators place about 350 B.C., numerous remains of Stratum II and Stratum III, and a few significant remains from Stratum IV. Stratum II and Stratum III are closely interconnected, the later one being often only a reconstruction of the earlier: the importance of these two strata lies in the fact that they include the period of the northern monarchy.

In this new section Stratum IV is at present only visible in places, the most important remains of this period being those of the City Gate on the north-east side of the *tell*. This gate is connected with the city wall, which had been previously exposed near the stables, and has since been traced almost completely round the mound. Only the lower courses of the gate remain in position: they are constructed of well-dressed ashlar in contrast with the characteristic walls of Strata I-III, which are almost wholly of unhewn stone: the gate has a stone-paved roadway running through it, with a covered water-drain beneath: the basalt gate sockets are still *in situ*. The plan of the gate is of special interest, because it reproduces many features of a type of gate which is exemplified in the south gate at Carchemish: the Carchemish gate is a triple one, the Megiddo gate is a double one, with an outer court at right angles to the main gate, and an outer gate which are not found at Carchemish, but may have been suggested at Megiddo by the configuration of the ground. Mr. Guy is disposed to think that the Megiddo gateway has been copied, therefore, from a Hittite original and, like other buildings in Stratum IV, constructed by the Phœnician masons whom King Solomon is recorded to have employed.

The gate, as we have said, was of ashlar, and the walls of the later strata were of undressed stone: walls of the latter type have so few differences that it is difficult to make much of them. Mr. Guy is most anxious, naturally, to distinguish between the mixed strata which succeeded the reconstruction of the Solomonic town, and hopes that it may be possible to detect in one of them evidence of Assyrian influence. He has already made several experiments in aerial photography from a small captive balloon, and enough has been done to show that this method may be of great use not only in planning but in helping to distinguish strata which, on the ground, look very much alike.

TWO CHURCHES AT GAZA, AS DESCRIBED BY CHORICIUS OF GAZA.

By R. W. Hamilton, B.A.,
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Foremost among the speeches, or more properly the exercises in academic oratory which preserve for us the art of Choricius of Gaza, are two panegyrics addressed to a contemporary sixth century bishop, Marcianus, of the same city. Whether or not intended for actual delivery, the character of these discourses, modelled on the classical orators with a meticulous attention to variety of phrase and literary allusion, is identical with that of the greater number of Choricius' compositions expressly written as rhetorical studies on selected themes. They contain, however, topographical accounts of his native city of an interest hard to find among the other specimens of the author's art. Inevitably the style of the descriptions, a naive compound of fancy with pedantry, is more in keeping with the purpose of the compositions and the supposed context of their delivery—a popular religious festival—than with a serious account of architectural facts. Still, with occasional lapses into erudition and metaphorical irrelevancies, a considerable nucleus of sound observation remains.

The translation that follows is of passages describing two of the great churches of 6th century Gaza—S. Sergius and S. Stephen. The founder of the former, who is alluded to in a rather clumsy compliment in the text, was a governor of Palestine, Stephanus by name, but both buildings were largely the work of the bishop in whose honour the panegyrics were composed.

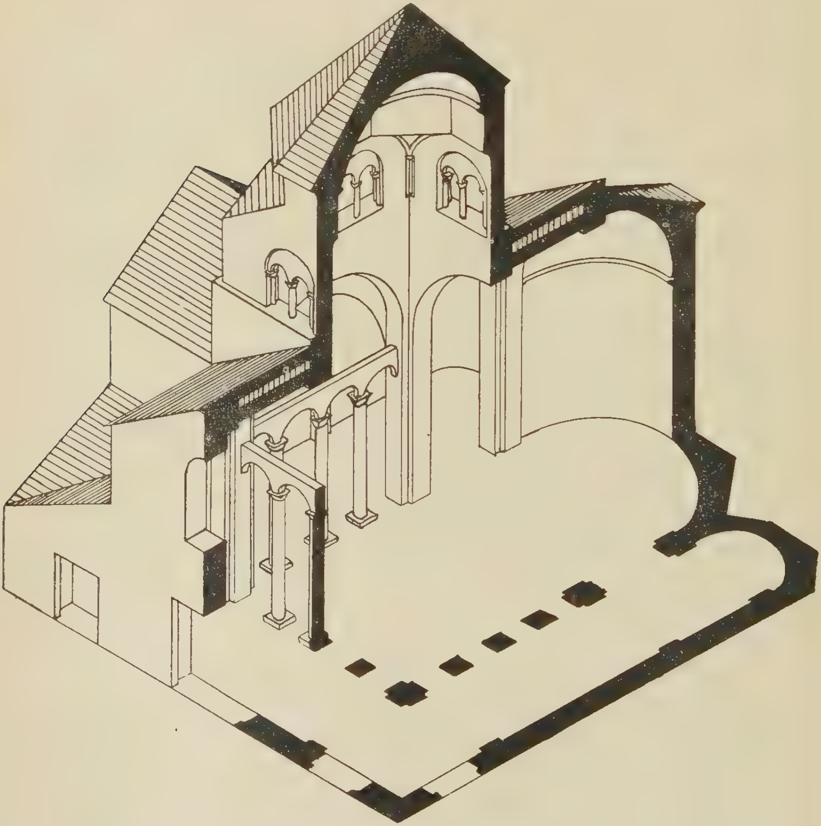
Laudatio Marciani I. § 17 [Teubner].

"Walk toward the northern part of the town, turning to the left after the market place, and take your stand in the porch ; you will be divided in your mind whether to glut your eyes on the approach or make straight for the pleasures which, judging from the magnificence of the exterior, must await you within.

"Four columns of Carystian marble, with superb natural colouring, are conspicuous by their size and spacing above the columns of the market colonnades. The two middle ones carry a single arch round which runs a pattern of large and small rings in high relief, closely interlinked ; the midmost ring, which encircles the keystone of the arch, bears the symbol of our Saviour's Passion, formed still from the inter-connection of the rings. As to the roofing, in the centre are four arches set on a square plan ; the space between them the architect has roofed with four concave triangles. Each of the two wings is done with a hollow sphere divided into half.

"Passing on up from here you find yourself in a courtyard with four equal alleys, and columns set at such a distance from the walls as to preserve the width of the colonnades without unduly diminishing the central area. Of these columns, which encircle the enclosure, those opposite the entrances are really designed to carry the weight of arches, but for decorative purposes their capitals are independently connected by wooden beams. Each of the covered alleys is adorned in the centre with a semi-cylindrical niche, while the court being open to the breezes, lends added sweetness, you will find, to the season's charm. Passing this on the right and walking eastwards, you have on the south an enclosure justly assigned to that salutation which not mere custom, but the Bishop's own character at once entitles him to give and us to solicit. Northwards, the long west colonnade of the church now bids you, full of contentment, an enticing welcome—its fair breeze blowing fresh and gentle from the forecourt on the west, passing softly beneath your clothes, which billow in the wind, and cooling the body with its breath.

"Enter, and you will be staggered by the diverse beauties of what meets your eye ; impatient to see all at once you will end by seeing nothing properly, since your fear to leave ought unobserved will not suffer your gaze to come to rest, believing that whatever you pass over you will be losing the best. Should anyone enquire what feature you approve most, you will be unable on reflection to reply ; unable to reply, you will look round again, till, finally at a loss how to decide, you retort, " Well, what do you like best yourself ? " For leading out of the colonnade which I have called the " Long Colonnade," and toward the north, is built a room with columns round it, set apart for the baptismal rite ; its floor is decorated with fine and close-set mosaics. From the same colonnade, and perpendicular to it, two others take their origin, one from the southern, the other from the opposite end; both are of equal length. The sides of the colonnades are formed by walls on the one hand, columns on the other. The former are encased in marble slabs, whose natural grain, rivalling in subtlety the painter's art, is joined by man's hand in a uniform composition. The columns, whose proportions and spacing are constant, attain with the aid of their arches the height of the pillars supporting the centre of the church, whose plan is as follows.



Reconstruction, after Choricius, of S. Sergius, Gaza.

"Four arches ranged opposite each other are opposed in turn by four others which face them ; of these eight arches each pair encloses a concave roof extremely well decorated. 'Even architecturally one might call the Bishop a guardian of equity—nothing in the church outdoes its neighbour opposite ; throughout the plan a balance of symmetry and proportion is preserved, save that in the midst of the side toward the sun's rising beams is a shell-like recess, in which it is customary for the bishop to sit. In terms of the engineering science, and out of respect for that profession, I should describe it as part of a cylinder set perpendicular to the floor, and crowned with the fourth part of a hollow sphere. Two other recesses of equal shapeliness adorn the same wall, one on either side ; equal in size to one another and similar in decoration, in both respects they fall short of the central apse. The latter is adorned with gilt and silver mosaic, and displays in the midst the mother of our Saviour, laying the child, lately born, in her bosom. A pious group stands on either side. At the extreme right of these stands that ruler *par excellence*, who is yet worthy to be numbered among the saints, and bear the name of the chief of God's deacons of old : more especially because, with the bishop as partner in his labours, he gave the people this church, knowing that public munificence in other forms wins for the city dignity alone, while the building of its churches brings it not beauty only, but a name for godliness besides He it is that we see asking the head of the church, who stands next to him, graciously to accept the gift ; to which he consents, and regarding him with a gentle gaze, lays his right hand on the other's shoulder and is manifestly about to set him next the Virgin and her child, the Saviour.

"Such is the central picture. In those I mentioned on either side, ever-burgeoning trees are growing—enchanting to the imagination. Not only are there wide-spreading and umbrageous vines, but the zephyr tossing the clusters murmurs sweet and gentle through the branches. That there is no sound sweeter than the rustling of a tree in the wind the poet of Syracuse is well aware when he compares the herdsman's pipe to the whispering pine.

"Subtlest of all is the pitcher of cool water—a coolness, surely, the very atmosphere of the church suggests. The birds of the poets, nightingale and cicada, the artist has done well to reject, lest even the memory of those fables intrude upon the sacred place. Instead of them he has enjoyed depicting a host of other birds and a flock of partridges: perhaps he would have rendered the very music of their cries, had not the sound hindered the hearing of God's word.

"We must, though, return to what we were speaking of. Each of the four inner arches, whose description I just now interrupted, is held on either side by masonry equal in height to the arches themselves, and carrying angle walls and pillars which reach as far as the frame holding aloft the roof. But I seem to be passing over the intermediate features. Beneath the corners of the frame are 'pears, pomegranates and bright fruited apple trees,' blossoming all seasons alike, not failing in winter nor needing water to be brought. Thus can we match the Phaeacian king, whose fruit is said never to fail, winter nor summer.

"My own delight has eased the task of composition—for the eyes lay a charm on the soul that assists its travail. And that, I believe, is why the poet makes the Sirens dwell among flowers, for such a life fosters the creation of melodious harmony. Nor, it seems, did the artist forget that same poet's epithet for the eagle, 'high-flying,' for there we see them, with spreading wings, plucking the trees that are at hand, and winging their emulous way aloft.

"And now, amazed as I am at everything, I fairly marvel at the roofing of the church. The frame is composed of four sides: within it a second, octagonal, band is attached, enclosing a circle which bears the roof aloft. And this is the crowning glory of all. Looking up at it you will require a neck practised in the art of vertical expansion, so high is it above the ground: and naturally, imitating as it does the visible firmament. Yet far away as is the roof, the pillars are so high that they need only be as tall again to equal it.

"It might be thought that this was all—yet there are here still greater treasures: gold, like flowing streams from some abundant golden fountain, has been poured over the eagles; gold blossoms round the arches, sometimes their only ornament, sometimes in brilliant alternation with blue coloured bands, each setting off the beauty of the other."

At this point follows a recital of the states that supplied marble for the revetments: Proconnesos, Lacedaemon, Carystos, Caria and others. From Thessaly came pillars and revetments for the central apse. The altar was silver, and stood on legs of the same metal.

The qualities that distinguish the famous churches of the world Choricius finds united in that of Gaza, while the ventilation, lighting and spaciousness of the church are specially mentioned. He remarks, too, that the richness of the building only bursts upon the visitor as he enters the precincts, when the sudden revelation leaves him speechless.

Having now described the contributions of the other arts it remains only for the orator to do justice to the paintings: these are so numerous that within the limits of a speech only a selection can properly be dealt with.

[Laud. Marc. I § 47.]

"So I will omit the stories on the walls and pass up to the roof. A winged being has just descended (in the painter's fancy) from heaven: he comes to the Virgin Mother, who is not yet a mother, finds her spinning with a becoming dignity, and greets her with the good tidings. Though his attitude suggests that he is talking to her, yet even had the painter given him speech it would be hard at that distance to hear what was said. Startled by the unexpected vision the maid has quickly turned about in her confusion, while fear has so weakened the joints of her fingers that the purple stuff has nearly fallen from her hand. Being a damsel of marriageable age, the tender innocence of her sex and years at once fills her with alarm and mistrust of the salutation. The angel, having performed his appointed task, has now flown away, and the virgin leaves her chamber to visit a friend and kinswoman, who, even before she can relate the circumstance, perceives the truth and falls on the maiden's breast: indeed she essays to go down on her knees but the Virgin, inspired by a seemly humility, holds her up.

"And now what is the purpose of this next painting? Yonder is an ass, a cow, a manger, a child and a maiden falling asleep with her left hand under her elbow and her cheek resting upon her right. What is the meaning of the picture? We need not wonder long, for that is the maid whom we left but now with the wool in her hand: and from that hour fulfilling the time of her delivery she has brought forth a child, yet needing no union with man. Nor is her face transformed with the pallor of one who has just given birth and for the first time: deemed worthy of a miraculous motherhood she was also justly spared its natural pains. Then what is the manger? What means the cow? Or what shall we say of the ass? These, we are told, were prophesied by men of old, and lo! they have come to pass.

"A cry from heaven, that rings in the ears of their beasts, has beguiled the shepherds straightway to leave their sheep grazing about the sward and spring: setting the dog to guard the flock they stand with faces raised to heaven, each in the easiest and most natural pose, straining their ears in the direction of the sound. Most of them seem to have dispensed with their crooks, but one man though not using his for the flock is supporting one hand upon it, his right arm being raised, I should say, in wonder at the cry. No repetition of the sound is required: sight, they say, is more sure than hearing, and as you see, an angel has come to meet them and is pointing out the direction of the babe. The animals with their silly nature do not so much as turn round toward the sight, but either keep their noses in the grass or drink from the aforementioned spring. But the dog, with its characteristic resentment of strangers, seems to be gazing intently at the unusual apparition. Such are the distinctions the artist has conveyed. The shepherds, meanwhile, are guided on their way by a star, reflected more faintly in the spring whose waters the sheep are stirring up.

"So much for the shepherds. I should be pitying the grey hairs of yonder aged priest, bowed down by the infirmity of his years, were it not that he has lived to see the coming of the child; whose mother is present with the babe laid in her arms, while he, for all the burden of his age, yet walks in joy at the sight.

"I see your eager interest is aroused by the banquet and the guests. It was a marriage, and the bridegroom had invited and was entertaining the Saviour's followers. But in the middle of the supper the fear arose that a shortage in the wine, by also spoiling their enjoyment of the dishes, was bringing the banquet to an ignominious conclusion. Now the Saviour of the world had been bidden together with his mother, and at her suggestion he transforms water into wine suitable for a wedding. Next, one of the servants takes up a jar of water and sets to work filling up the amphoras, while another fills the mixing bowls and goes the round of the guests, beginning at the usual place. It appears that the wine is of exceedingly fine flavour—the delight of the man who has just drunk his flushed cheeks betray. That is but incidental to the Saviour's love. Further on, at least, is a woman afflicted by a lingering disease: at the request of one of his disciples, who had married her daughter, and whom we see attending to the woman, hè heals her, neither using incantations nor 'laying soothing ointments on,' but just stretching out his hand.

"Next to this is a man with a withered hand, whose case had confuted the learning of physicians. Scarce able to stand for pain he prays for and at once receives release from his sufferings.

"But whose is this mournful countenance, what misfortune inspires his supplication? A trusted servant has almost run his life's allotted course and reached the goal. A sad hour it is for the master when a good servant is waiting at the point of death. Accordingly he has left him at home and come to plead for him in person. Hearing the story, the Saviour announced the expulsion of the trouble and the sickness without cavil yielded to his word.

"After that there is a woman whose hopes have suffered shipwreck in her only child, a boy she had reared up to the flower of his youth and by whom she was expecting to be supported when, by a common fate, she was cheated of her hope. So now the young man is being carried to the tomb, and there are women with him, wailing. Being crowded together they partially obscure each other, but you can imagine that if separated each one would be found to be painted entire: perhaps before the miracle they were standing apart, but on seeing the Saviour bring the youth to life, ran together to look; and now their joy probably exceeds their sorrow at his death; for his departure was expected, but that once dead he should live again was more than they could hope.

"Chastened by this incident a certain woman of loose life renounces the great error of her ways. Soft raiment, and her wonted golden trinkets, like the fashioning of her hair, she holds of no account, being now careless of her beauty but in reverence and worship pours a store of ointment over his feet.

"Clothed as He is with all this power, even the winds are under his control. The boat is being tossed by the waves: the onset of the breakers, preventing it from riding upright, drag down one side. But he rebukes the raging winds, which immediately tremble at the threats. For no longer 'doth the crash of waves beset my ears.' And no wonder, when he walks over the sea and gently saves his friend, who in the picture is shown half hidden (where he is meant to be under the water), but visible so far as he is already raised to safety.

"Yonder is a young man in a grievous condition, whom neither servant, friend, nor kinsman dares to tame. He has a frenzied expresson and seems to be looking round the bystanders for a victim for his violence. So, though the painting puts a fetter on him to prevent him walking, he is trying to force his bonds, and with the insensibility of madness barely notices the pain of his violence. Observe the art of the painter: he wished to represent the successive stages of madness and sanity, so he indicates the frenzy by disorderly movements, and the cure by the expulsion—reluctant, as the painting shows—of the demon. I pity your sufferings, boy, but deem you fortunate no less: great maladies cured are a well-spring of great joys.

"You see that woman touching the hem of his garment; that is another kind of cure. The woman's strength was being wasted away by an endless issue of blood—but he, without so much as turning round, stays the outflow of her life force.

"After that comes a second fight with death, and a second victory. A man whom he dearly loved had died the day before, and the Saviour, in pity at the women's tears, effected his return to life. At this the joy of the women, as usual too readily vociferous in surprise, knows no bounds. One points out the event to her neighbour, and she, in turn, is transported with delight.

"The artist is aware that, though in mortal shape, it is God that he has depicted, so he has shown him not exalted by his triumphs, but still supping with the same companions. He is foretelling, I should judge, the plot against himself. The meal having come to an end, one of the company, who stands convicted of an inward blindness, with the kiss that was treason's sign, betrays (as you see) the Master of the feast to impious men, whose vileness only his own can equal. These took and led him away, venting their envious passion in accusations against him. The governor at the time saw clearly the falseness of their charges, but had lost the spirit to command, and thought it too hard to turn the fury of the crowd or its purpose, once set. So he consents to deliver him for execution, thinking somehow to wipe away the shame, or pass it on to the guilty by washing his hands in the water he has ordered the slave to bring.

"After making much mock of him—or, rather, of themselves, since no insult can touch God—they have finally consigned him to the vilest of all deaths, between a pair of thieves. They also set guards over his tomb ; but he makes their guards a laughing stock and, regaining immortality, after appearing to the women about his mother, is borne up to his own kingdom, escorted by a heavenly company.

"And so he has not belied those ancient prophets who compass about the central part of the roof."

The second church Choricius describes was dedicated to St. Stephen. It was a basilica, with three apses, and galleries above the two aisles. A porch and atrium gave access to it from the street.

LAUDATIO MARCIANI II.

"Follow me then toward the east gate of the city. If you descend from here, and turn to the left, you will no longer need to be shown the way, as the church is plainly visible, and is sufficient guide itself. There are, incidentally, coverings all along the road, which afford some refreshment, but when you come to the gateway, and have surmounted a number of steps (the church being built on an eminence), you see a real summer retreat, whose sweet breath you will find mitigates the warmth of the season. Cooled by light breezes, fortified with the strength of a watch tower, by two veritable bastions flanking the entrance, it is adorned with a handsome porch and four rich colonnades, while no one of the sides is longer than its neighbour. The squareness of the plan is evident from the equality in number and spacing of the columns, which all derive from one city, are of the same form, and gleam as the poets say, 'more white than snow.' Those toward the dawn are taller than the rest by the amount the latter attain from the ground ; for the columns near the church should, perhaps, have some pre-eminence. At this season the existence of the colonnades has a mainly æsthetic value, but at the second feast of the martyr, which is held in the winter months, it helps to bring the visitors in dryshod if rain happens to be falling. One of these colonnades, which lies along the front of the church, gives access on the right to a servitors' house, on the left to an enclosure reserved for the Bishop's Salutation: a place where, in Homer's phrase, there are shrill winds blowing. Boreas and Zephyr, vines and clear water, and all manner of plants; and Nestor's good priest, with 'sweet flowing voice,' according to Homer, welcomes newcomers with open heart and smiling countenance. These things the colonnade offers you to right and left; but on the eastern wall you may see all things the sea brings forth, and all the tribute of the earth. There is nothing almost you could look for that is not included, and a great deal that you will not expect to see. What bold realism! What ravishing, what brilliant execution! A rich façade befits a sanctuary of such golden opulence.

"This colonnade marks the end of the church, which stretches away to the east: its width is such as the length requires, its length in accordance with the breadth, and the height of the roof proportionate to both. This—the proportion of the edifice—is its first and greatest merit: the second is the revetments, presented by all the famous marble-bearing countries; they at once enhance the architectural charm of the church, and are a source of honour to the cities, thus serving a double end, for wonder at the sight of a marble soon turns to praise of the donor. The best of the columns are the four that define the area forbidden to the laity: these nature has dyed with the colours of a king's raiment.

"But the east end, with its elaborate craftsmanship, has been too tempting for me to spend long over the external features, and I need not apologise for having been drawn towards it before describing the rest. The wall is distinguished by a well-marked recess reaching right down to the floor. The lower portion, as far up as the arch which rests on the two corners, maintains a constant width, but after that gradually contracts in area in a degree corresponding with the arch. There are two holy men standing one on either side, each carrying his usual insignia—the one on the right of the beholder bears the church in his hand; to the left you will see the Forerunner. In the lower part are gleaming marbles of every kind; in the midst a window, wide and tall in proportion, the whole of which is surrounded by a single kind of stone, though diversified by art, which supplies the facings along both edges of the window and decorates the walls on either side, continuing up without a break to right and left until it reaches the band, itself of the same stone, which lies above the window. In this way the wall is overlaid with well fitting bands of different marbles, their joints so fine as to appear nature's work, adorned by her with colours the painter's brush could not surpass; indeed, if art students, whose business it is to choose and copy the fairest things there are, should need columns to copy or gorgeous marbles (and I have often seen that sort of thing in paintings) they will find plenty of fine models here.

One of the bands (I refer to the uppermost) carries a novel ornament. I have heard it called by geometricians the 'half cone'; the following is the origin of the term. You have probably seen the pine tree in your country; whether it was originally a maiden—and there are people who tell a story to that effect that Boreas in a fit of amorous jealousy was slaying her when the earth, in pity at her plight, sent up a tree that bears the maiden's name. I neither believe the tale myself nor intend to repeat it, but simply say that the tree bears a fruit which is called a 'cone'—and from this derives the name of the pattern. That is as far as I can describe it pictorially; but if you are anxious for a full account, this is what it is like. A carpenter has taken five discs of the material given him by his craft, and cut each of them into two equal parts. Attaching nine of these pieces to each other by their tips, and by their middle points to the band I have just called the uppermost, he has then hollowed out and set above them an equal number of wooden strips, beginning wide at the bottom and gradually tapering upwards to a fine point, and at the same time curved enough to fit the concave surface of the wall. By drawing together the tips of all these pieces into one, and bending them gently, a most delightful effect is produced. But while there were five discs cut in half, I have only described how nine of the pieces were used, and I see you are naturally asking about the remaining half disc. Well, this half is itself divided into halves and put one on either side of the nine, and on it is set an arch of the same material, hollowed out in front, which still further enhances the effect, a picture of the ruler of the universe being painted on its centre. Gold and other colours give brilliance to the whole work.

"So much for that device. The two aisles, which should each have some distinction at the east end, yet not so much as the nave, have all the other embellishments, but are without the cone decoration I have described.

"That the female congregation should not mix up with the men, though there is room enough on the ground plan for both without crowding, you have constructed a double women's gallery equal in length and breadth to the lower aisles, and only less than them in height to the extent that the columns supporting the roof are shorter than those below.

"Let us now calculate the height of the church roof from the ground. Lofty columns; an architrave joining their capitals; above, a wall faced with marble; second range of columns; more masonry, decorated with animal figures; arched windows—all these make up the height of the roof.

"The curious sightseer may look high and low in search of a spot bare of either marble or gold; he will nowhere find one. Anyone wearied of gold and marble facings, who would seek relief in stone and masonry, may gaze at these to his heart's content outside.

"I had nearly forgotten the Nile. The river itself is nowhere portrayed in the way painters paint rivers, but is depicted with streams and the appropriate symbols, and with meadows along its banks, and all the various types of birds that ofttimes wash in that river's streams and dwell in the meadows. This charming contribution comes from the walls of the aisles, which have a pleasant breeze as well, there being two fresh winds that blow down into them from either side and through them into the nave, from the many large windows that everywhere let in the light.

"You see, then, what zeal has been expended on the church. Let us now suppose a gathering of men who have examined the shrines of many cities, each a connoisseur in one type of work, and let our church be tried before a court so constituted against the famous churches of the world. Let one, for instance, be a critic of art—not of painting alone, but of its counterpart in stone; another a judge of marbles, including those named after their quarries and those denoted by their colours. A third shall be a trained observer of capitals; another an expert judge of gold, with clear ideas on excess and deficiency—both errors of taste. Let someone else be careful to observe the roof, unless the height be too great for him; for there are timbers on it of great richness, covered with panels in which strength and beauty are combined. When all these judges come together, each one deciding on that aspect he knows better than the rest, then, I say, with every vote our church will be victorious."

THE MOUNT OF GOD.

By Rev. W. J. Phythian-Adams, M.A., D.S.O., M.C.

II.

(*Concluded from Q.S., p.* 149.)

It is of the essence of the position which we are examining that the Mount of God was a volcano. On this view no site in the so-called Peninsula of Sinai is possible, since it contains no trace of any kind of volcanic activity. Are we met then, at the outset, by an insuperable obstacle to our theory ? The name of Sinai has been attached for so many centuries to a particular group of mountains in this peninsula (it is remarkable, however, that even so there is doubt as to which of them should rightly bear it), that it may seem an almost hopeless task to overthrow the time-honoured identification. It is a strange reflection on human psychology what a power of persuasion is carried for it by a name. The argument for the "Merneptah" date of the Exodus, though it has been shown devoid of any tangible evidence and riddled through and through by destructive criticism[1], survives apparently unscathed on the strength of the single anachronism of the place-name, Rameses. Will it prove, one wonders, to be the same with Sinai? Here, too, there is, in effect, no case to argue. There is no evidence in favour of the established tradition, which locates Sinai at Jebel Musa or Jebel Serbal. Its very origin, obscure at the best, cannot be traced further back than the 3rd century of our era, when the *lauras* of Christian monks began first to spring up in this sombre desert[2]. The biblical evidence, on the other hand, points directly to a region quite distinct, as we shall find when we examine it below. Yet, when all is said, there remains the spell of the name, more potent than a thousand arguments, and it is necessary to be aware of this and to shake off its numbing influence, if we are to deal impartially with the facts.

1.—The evidence of the Bible.—The earliest Israelite tradition

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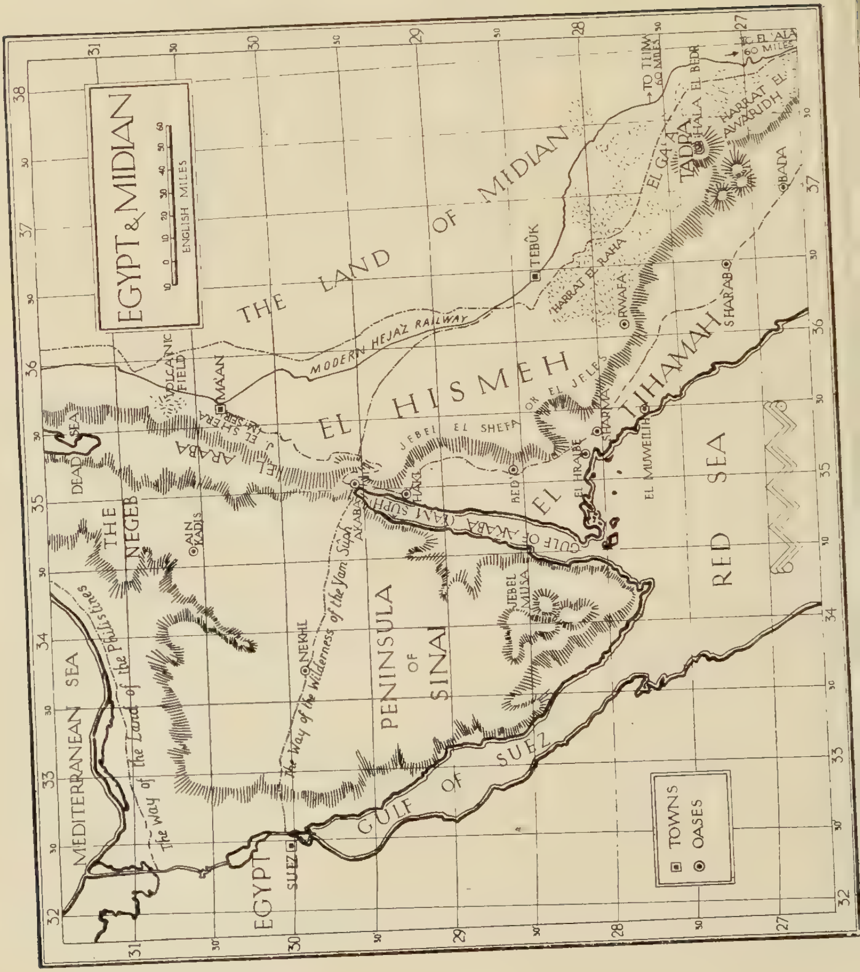
[1] cf Peet, *Egypt and Old Testament*, p. 108.

[2] McNeile, *op cit.*, p. ci.


EGYPT & MIDIAN
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60
ENGLISH MILES
THE LAND OF MIDIAN
MODERN HEJAZ RAILWAY
EL HISMEH
JEBEL EL SHEFA OR EL JELES
TEBÛK
HARRAT EL RAHA
EL GA'A
TADRA
HALA EL BEDR
HARRAT EL AWARIDH
TO TEIMA 60 MILES
TO EL 'ALA 60 MILES
RWAFA
SHARAB
BADA
TIHAMAH
EL MUWEILIH
SHARMA
EL HRAIBE
RED
EL
RED SEA
GULF OF AKABA (YAM SUPH)
AKABA
HAKL
JEBEL MUSA
PENINSULA OF SINAI
The Way of the Wilderness of the Yam Suph
NEKHL
SUEZ
GULF OF SUEZ
EGYPT
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
The Way of the Land of the Philistines
THE NEGEB
AIN KADIS
DEAD SEA
ARABA
J. EL SHERA
MA'AN
VOLCANIC FIELD
TOWNS
OASES
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
31
30
29
28
27
30'

is clear at least upon one important point, that the people were led by Moses, as the result of a divine "token," to that Mount of God where he had witnessed the theophany of the "Burning Bush." That this mountain stood within the confines of the "Sinai" Peninsula, is, *a priori*, exceedingly improbable. Moses, in those more youthful days, was a fugitive from the wrath of Pharaoh; his one object was to escape completely from the furthest sphere of Egyptian influence:—it is scarcely conceivable, therefore, that he would take refuge in the vicinity of the famous turquoise mines, which at that date (*i.e.*, in the XVIIIth dynasty) were being worked at regular intervals in the WadyMagharah and at Sarabit el-Khadim[1]. But, in fact, we are in no need of surmises; for it is definitely stated that he fled to the Land of Midian, and that it was there that he found the Mount of God[2].

i.—*The Boundaries of Midian.*—Opinions differ very widely as to the exact boundaries and extent of this famous Bedouin tribe, but this is not to say that we are left entirely to conjecture. Even to-day the limits of tribal territories are laid down with remarkable clearness, as the traveller knows to his cost, when on crossing from one such area to another, he finds it necessary to secure new guides and protectors through the district into which he has intruded. Even in comparatively featureless tracts, these tribal boundaries are well-observed; but a striking physical line of division will naturally increase their rigidity. Such a line is laid down by nature along the great rift of el-Araba from the South end of the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf of Akaba. Here, with the great mountain chain which crowns its eastern border, it presents to the western desert of Arabia Petræa a forbidding barrier which the Bedouins of all times have been slow to cross. Those in the Negeb of Palestine and in the Peninsula to the south of it have thus been naturally separated from their brethren of the east, and these, in turn, rather than brave the fierce heat of the waterless Araba and its arduous descents, have found their lines of expansion and intercourse along the great routes which lead northward to Damascus, southward to Medina and the distant Yemen, and eastward to the great oases of Jauf and Hail and Riad.

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[1] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 206.

[2] Ex. ii. 15.

It is to the second of these groups that the Midianites clearly belonged, and not to the western tribes, which were known to Israel as the Amalekites. The name of Midian in early genealogies is connected with the famous eastern tribes of Sheba and Dedan[1]; and these again are linked, both by trade and race, with Cushite East Africa, the modern Somaliland, Abyssinia, and the northern Sudan.[2] Sheba itself is closely connected with the oasis of Tema[3] (modern Teima, 150 m. E.S.E. of Tebûk) while Dedan has been rediscovered at el-ʿAla (75 m. s.w. of Teima)[4]. Both these places lie on or near the northern caravan routes from Medina and east of the lava-fields of the Northern Hejaz. The Midianite clan name Ephah has been recognised as surviving in the modern Rwâfa on the western edge of the same volcanic regions[5]; and a "city of Madian," with its surrounding district of the same name, was well-known to Roman and Arab geographers as situated on the east coast of the Gulf of Akaba. We need, in fact, have no hesitation in identifying this city with the oasis of Bed‘ (Beida el-Haura) which lies at the foot of the great coastal range, five days' march from Aila (near Akaba) and six days from Tebûk, as calculated by the ancient travellers[6]. At first sight this identification of Bed‘ with the city of Midian precludes the necessity for a further search. Somewhere, it would appear certain, in the neighbourhood of this oasis must be found the Mount of God[7].

This conclusion is actually fortified by the legends which have for many centuries clung to the spot. Here, it was said, came Moses on his flight from Egypt, arriving without food and with feet lacerated by a rapid nine days' march. Here were, at one time, actually exhibited the well, and the stone which he lifted from it to water the flocks of Shuweib (Jethro). Here, too, was shown a rock from which the water gushed out at his command[8]. All this is very well, in fact *too* well; for an earlier version of the last legend placed this same rock at Petra! It would, in fact, be wiser to regard such Arab folk-lore as devoid of any further foundation than might have been provided by Christian or Jewish piety in the later centuries of the Roman Empire. *Non tali auxilio!* The existence of this "city of Madian" on the east coast of the gulf of Akaba is important only as a general indication of the regions once ruled by Midian; it cannot be accepted as trustworthy evidence for the territories which this people occupied in its prime. For this we must have recourse to the earliest Biblical traditions; and these, while they locate the Midianites with equal clearness to the east of the rift of el-Araba, reveal, at the same time, how much wider was the sphere of their influence. Their connection with the oases of Tema and Dedan, and with the important trading centres of the Yemen and African Cush, is not the only proof of their ancient greatness. Equally suggestive are their relations with the marauding tribes of the interior, whose distinctive title, Beni Kedem, the Children of the East, is found side by side with that of Midian in the narrative of *Judges* vi-viii. It is clear from this story of their invasion of Palestine, and subsequent defeat by Gideon, that the Midianites were at this date sufficiently powerful to overrun the whole of Trans-Jordania, though it is difficult to believe that they held it permanently. Their true northern boundary seems, indeed, to have lain between the land of Moab and the Wady Sirhan. It was to Karkor[1] (Keraker) at the northern end of this Wady that the routed hosts halted in their flight, and their mistaken sense of security suggests strongly that they had by this time regained their own borders. Certainly at the time of Israel's approach to Moab, their encampments were to be found in the neighbourhood of that country, since their elders were consulted, and employed as ambassadors, by Balaam[2]. We shall probably be not far from the truth if we accept this line as marking, normally, the northward limit of their expansion. For their southern boundary the evidence is less precise but it may be taken as including, at the least, the oasis of Dedan (el-'Ala[3]); while, to the East, the great desert of el-Nefud would form a natural barrier. When we turn to the West, the answer is not so simple. It would be easy to suppose, from a casual study of the map, that the boundary of Midian on this flank would be limited only by the coast. There are, however, strong objections to this view. The physical features of the country are definitely against it[1]; and there is one small but possibly important clue in the account of Moses' wanderings as a shepherd which points unmistakably in the same direction. On taking charge of the flock of Jethro, he is said to have led it "to the back" (*i.e.* to west) of the pasture-land of Midian[2]. Now this expression is meaningless if the pastures lay along the coasts of the gulf of Akaba or the Red Sea; but it is readily intelligible if the normal grazing-lands of Midian lay on the lofty Arabian plateau, east of the coastal range. To the *west* of this plateau, as we shall see later, there stretches the inhospitable tract of el-Hismeh, continued southwards in the still wilder lava-fields (Harras) of el-Raha and el-Awaridh; while the chain of granite mountains which separates them from the maritime lowlands of el-Tihamah forms a natural "edge" or "lip" to the whole of this portion of the Northern Hejaz[3]. It is here then, rather than along the coast that we should naturally place the western boundary of Midian.

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[1] Gen. xxv. 1-3, Is. lx. 6.

[2] Gen. x. 7. Hab. iii. 7; cf Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

[3] Job. vi. 19. [4] Musil, p. 293. [5] Musil, p. 289.

[6] Musil, pp. 278, sqq. Appendix IX.

[7] Hence Musil locates Horeb by the Sheib (Wady) of el-Hrob between Bed‘ and el-Hraibe (p. 263), though there is, apparently, no mountain of this name.

[8] Musil, pp. 279-281.

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[1] Judg. viii. 10. Musil, p. 284.

[2] Nu. xxii, 4, 7. [3] See above, p. 194.

ii. *The Way to the Mount of God.* So far, the limits of the problem have been sketched only in broad outline, but it is now possible to be more precise. If the Mount of God was a volcano, the home of Jethro must be sought in the vicinity of some volcanic region.

The Volcanic Tract of Edom.—Within the territory described there are two such tracts, the one on the eastern borders of Mt. Seir, about 15 miles north of Ma'an, the other, far more extensive, to the south and west of Tebûk. Of these the Biblical evidence appears, at first sight, very strongly to favour the former. The Song of Deborah connects Sinai explicitly with Mt. Seir and the "field of Edom," and is followed in this by the "Blessing of Moses" and, much later, by the prophet Habakkuk[4]. A curious note at the beginning of *Deuteronomy* gives the distance from Horeb to Kadesh Barnea (Ain Kadis in the southern Negeb) as an eleven days' march "by the way of Mt. Seir," which, allowing for some overstatement as to the length of the journey, would seem to be based upon the same assumption[1]. The conclusion appears irresistible, that in one branch at least of Israelite tradition—and that by no means the latest—the Mount of God was conceived as standing on or near the borders of Edom. To grant this is not, however, to have solved the problem ; we have still to ask whether such a belief can reflect the truth, and a moment's reflection will show that this is in the highest degree improbable. If this sacred and mysterious mountain, the Mount of Yahweh Himself, were really known to have been on the borders of Edom, how comes it that in all the Israelite campaigns against that unhappy country, there should be no mention or even suggestion of this tremendous fact ? How comes it, too, that its real position could be so utterly forgotten that it was not until the 3rd century of the Christian era that an attempt (even if a fruitless one) was made at last to fix it—elsewhere ? This volcanic tract on the edge of Mt. Seir is, in fact, too close to Palestine to possess the mysterious fame of Sinai. Elijah's journey of 40 days and 40 nights from Beersheba not only accords much better with its traditional remoteness, but finds room also for a feature which a nearer site cannot provide, the "great and terrible wilderness."[2]. The memory of that waterless desolation, with its strange Manna and its fiery serpents, with its weariness and its horror, becomes inexplicable unless it points through a haze not merely of centuries but of leagues. It is vital to remember this. Wherever Sinai stood, there must be found between it and Palestine some barrier of desert, formidable enough to have left this memory in the history of the people of Israel. Not only the distance but the unforgettable terrors of that journey are essential factors in this problem ; and it is impossible to see how either of them can be reconciled with any site in the neighbourhood of Kadesh or Mt. Seir. We can only conclude that it was just this remoteness of the Mount of God which led to its connection with the first two places on the known horizon of the writers at which the people emerged from the obscurity of their desert-wanderings.

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[1] See below. [2] Ex. iii. 1.

[3] This range is still called el-Shefa, the "lip" or "brink" of the eastern highlands.

[4] Ju. v. 4-5, Deut. xxxiii, 2. Hab. iii, 3 (where Teman is a district of Edom not to be confused with the oasis of Tema).

The Volcanic Tract of South Midian.—There remains to be considered the second volcanic region within the territory of Midian, the lava fields of Harrat el-Raha and Harrat el-Awaridh, which begin to appear some miles to the south-west of Tebûk, and extend as far south as the oasis of el-'Ala. A glance at the map will show that here, at the outset, there is a serious difficulty to be faced. The northernmost edge of this region lies, at the nearest, hardly less than 130 miles from Akaba; and if to this we add the distance from Akaba to Suez by the old pilgrim route through Nekl, we must allow a total of 300 miles as our *minimum* estimate of the journey from Egypt to the Mount of God.[1] Is not such a journey for an entire people "on trek" so great as to be barely credible? To answer this, it is necessary to review the special circumstances which governed the movements of Israel. Had theirs been in any sense an ordinary migration, or had it been simply a flight into the wilderness, with no other thought but that of hasty escape, it would be difficult to believe that they could cover so great a distance in one sustained and practically continuous effort. But, in fact, this was was neither an aimless migration nor a mere flight: it was a deliberate march aimed at a definite objective; an objective, moreover, not merely already known to their leader, but signalised to the entire people by its towering Pillar of Cloud and Fire. With *that* before their eyes, and the knowledge imparted to them by Moses, that it was the beckoning hand of Yahweh, their thoughts would have been fixed less on the distance to be traversed than on the thrill of reaching their divinely-appointed goal. That there were moments when the difficulties and discomforts of the road threatened to break down their confidence in Moses, serves only to make clearer the source of their courage and their hope. He led, they followed: and while their trust in him, even when it faltered, held firm, and ever before their eyes, day and night, the mysterious beacon loomed and flamed on the horizon, they might have followed their guide to regions even more remote, careless of those obstacles which seem to us so formidable, time and space.[2] The question, in fact, which most directly concerns us, is not whether Israel could have accomplished such a journey at the bidding of such a leader and under the stimulus of such a hope : it is the primary question whether Moses himself, in those earlier days when he was a homeless fugitive, can conceivably have fled so far in escaping the wide net of Egyptian suzerainty. It is recorded, as we have seen, that in this, his first, journey, he entered the land of Midian ; that is, that, at the least, he crossed the rift of the Araba into the northern Hejaz. *How far thereafter is he likely to have penetrated within this territory?* That is the real problem, and it must be evident that mere distance plays very little part in it. The first stage of the journey, from Egypt to Akaba, is in no sense an arduous enterprise. Saladin himself, travelling rapidly it is true, covered the whole of it in only five days.[1] The usual estimate for a good day's march is reckoned by Arab writers at between 28 and 30 miles : in special or favoured circumstances it might be nearer 40.[2] There is nothing, therefore, incredible in assuming that Moses would have reached the borders of Midian in a week's hurried flight ; nor is there any reason for supposing that his movements came to an end at that stage. A wanderer and a foreigner, he would be compelled to drift from camp to camp, and from settlement to settlement, till he found a host willing to engage his services and provide him with permanent shelter and protection. It is clear that the range of such wanderings can be determined only by the extent of the boundaries of Midian ; and we have seen reason to believe that these included the lava-fields on the edge of the Hejazi up-lands. There is therefore nothing incredible or physically impossible in the assumption that Moses did, in fact, perform this journey ; and, if this is so, there can be no serious difficulty about his making it a second time, no longer as a solitary fugitive, but as the leader of his people.

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[1] Deut. i, 1. [2] 1 Ki. xix, 8.

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[1] Actually it will be seen below, it can hardly have been less than 450 miles.

[2] It must be noted that we have no certain evidence for the *time* taken by Israel in reaching the Mount of God. The "priestly" source (Ex. xix, 1), gives the date of arrival in the wilderness of Sinai as an (unstated) day in the third month, which indicates a journey of a minimum 1½ and a maximum 2½ months.

The possibility of this route having been established, it is interesting to note that the Biblical evidence, though slight and fragmentary, seems undoubtedly to confirm it. The first stage of the journey, that which according to this view should be from the borders of Egypt to the head of the gulf of Akaba, is described explicitly as the "Way of the wilderness of the Yam Sûph."[3] The situation of Marah, the first recorded halting place, is unknown[4] ; but the second, Elim[5], is identical in meaning, and practically identical in form, with that Elath or Eloth (the Greek Ailana and Arab Aila) which stood not far from Akaba at the head of the gulf. That this gulf was known in ancient times as the Yam Sûph, the sea of Sûph, is not disputed. The evidence of the Solomonic records is precise on this point, and is supported by a later reference in *Numbers*.[1] Whether or to what extent it shared this name with the whole of the Red Sea is uncertain, but for our purpose irrelevant. If Moses was making once more for Midian, as we are expressly told that he was, the name, Yam Sûph, used in such a context, can have one meaning, and one meaning only, and the appearance of the name Elim at this juncture would seem to leave little doubt as to the route pursued. From this point onwards Moses would presumably follow the road best known to him, but of this part of the journey no memory has survived. The episode of Rephidim (Ex. xvii, 8 *sq.*) has long been recognised as misplaced in its present context,[2] and even in the later sources the material fails; so that it is not until after the departure from Horeb-Sinai that any fresh topographical evidence is available.[3] The blank is regrettable, but not surprising when we realise how featureless and comparatively uneventful a desert journey can be; and it is evident that the only halting-places recorded in the earliest sources are those where some crisis or other memorable happening broke the monotony of the march. We must rest satisfied with having been brought to the borders of the land of Midian, where the massive granite mountains overhang the deep rift of the Araba. From this point onwards the country itself must furnish its own evidence.

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[1] Musil, p. 49, n. 16. [2] Musil, pp. 134, 322, 328. [3] Ex. xiii, 18.

[4] Ex. xv. 23. If the later pilgrim route was followed, the position of Nekl itself would suit it very well.

[5] Ex. xv. 27 ; cf Deut. ii, 8 ; 1 Ki. ix, 26.

II. THE EVIDENCE OF THE COUNTRY.—*El-Jeles and El-Tihamah.* To the traveller advancing eastward from Akaba the mountain range to which we have alluded seems to present an impenetrable barrier. This range, behind which the great massif of Mt. Seir (Jebel el-Shera) rises to the north-east, sweeps past the head of the gulf of Akaba, which it follows closely as far as the oasis of Hakl. From this point it bends away to the south-east, and though it throws off outliers towards the oases of el-Hraibe and Sharma, its general trend is henceforth in the same direction. Hence it is that the coastal strip, which, as far as Hakl, has been narrowed almost to a thread, widens out into a maritime lowland, called (for this reason) el-Tihamah[1]. The mountain range itself is known by various names, the commonest to-day being el-Jeles, the "rocky plain." On some maps it appears as Jebel el-Shefa, the "lip" or "brink" of the lofty uplands of the Nejd[2]. A third name, Jebel el-Tihamah, though sometimes used, is misleading and should be avoided, since it is to the plateaux above and not to the maritime plains below that these mountains most truly belong. At a point somewhat to the north-east of the oasis of Sharab in the Tihamah, this continuous range breaks up into groups of separate mountains diverging somewhat towards the south-west[3]; and on the uplands behind there is a corresponding gap between the two lava-fields, Harrat el-Raha and Harrat el-Awaridh. A line drawn roughly through these points to the Hejaz railway forms the southern boundary of the important tribe, the Beni 'Atiyyeh[4], the entire range of el-Jeles northward to Mt. Seir forming their western border. These boundaries are worthy of special notice because they show how readily the tribal territories of the Hejaz conform with the marked physical divisions of the country. Though not co-extensive with those of ancient Midian in its prime, the present territories of the Beni 'Atiyyeh must, to a large extent, be the same. It is, in fact, the tribe which holds the uplands and controls the main caravan routes from Medina to Damascus, which enjoys also the longest sweep of territory and the widest horizons. In the Tihamah, by way of contrast, the corresponding stretch of country is divided in its southern portion between the two tribes of the Beli and the Huweytat el-Tihamah (an off-shoot of the Huweytat tribe which borders on Mt. Seir), while beyond el-Hraibe the clans of Imran and el-Mesaid hold between them the mountains and the shore.

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[1] 1 Ki. ix. 26. Nu. xxi, 4. The evidence has been examined in detail by Sayce (*Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 255 sq.).

[2] McNeile, pp. xcix, 102.

[3] The striking contrast in the number of recorded halting places, mentioned in the later sources as occurring (a) between Egypt and Sinai (Nu. xxxiii 5-15) and (b) after Sinai (Nu. xxxiii 16-49) is probably due to the tradition that the Ark took charge of the direction of march and the number and character of the halts. Unfortunately the list of names sheds no light on the journey.

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[1] From Taham a "low unhealthy maritime region," Burton, *Gold Mines of Midian*, p. 125 n.

[2] Burton, *loc. cit.*

[3] Musil, p. 132.

[4] Musil, p. 236 (This was at least true in 1910).

It is noticeably in this, the northernmost and narrowest, section of el-Tihamah (that which contains Bed', the "City of Madian") that the tribal boundaries are least clearly delimited. Although one of the old pilgrim routes to Medina passes through it from Akaba to Sharma, it is, in effect, a backwater, whose inhabitants isolated into minor groups maintain little contact with the main stream of Hejazi life. It may, indeed, be safely asserted that whatever fate drove a remnant of the tribe of Midian into this corner, it is neither here nor anywhere in the low-lands of el-Tihamah that we must seek their ancient boundaries. It is, of course, possible, that it was this lower route through Hakl, Sharma, and Sharab which Moses followed in his first journey to Midian, though its defiles and confined spaces must be ill-suited to the passage of a large body of persons with flocks and herds; but as it is the uplands, with their lava fields, which concern us, we may leave the maritime regions and return to our starting point at Akaba and the mountain barrier which overhangs it. To penetrate this obstacle by direct approach is impossible; it is necessary to proceed more than an hour's ride to the north, and then swing eastward into the black gorge of the Wady el-Ithm, the main, and in this region the only, pass from the rift of el-Araba to the highlands of the Hejaz. At the summit of its tortuous and airless course, this ravine breaks out from the mountains into a level plain; and the road which has followed it, forks at this point in two directions. Northward the trade route to Ma'an climbs steadily the ascent of Mt. Seir, which it penetrates by the pass of Shtâr. Eastward the old pilgrim El-Hismeh road bends sharply away across an expanse of sandy hills and the remarkable uplands of el-Hismeh.

El-Hismeh.—This extraordinary tract demands a more detailed description. "It is a white rocky plain, eroded by rain, wind, and sand, upon which are found the numberless scattered, brown remains of various firmer strata."[1] On the north-east this plain is bordered by the el-Shera range (Mt. Seir) and on the west by that of el-Jeles. To the south there stretches an uninterrupted expanse, over 120 miles long, of scoured and wind-swept upland; while on the east a series of sandy plains and depressions closes at an average breadth of 50 miles the other flank of this fantastic and forbidding wilderness.

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[1] Musil, p. 48.

Viewed from the outlying slopes of Mt. Seir, an astonishing panorama is presented ; " above the dense haze there rose like islets countless horns, cones and truncated cones, pyramids, obelisks, and other quaint shapes, fashioned by the action of rain, frost, and wind, which had gnawed at the layers of rock and carried away the softer ingredients to the east and south-east as far as the sandy desert an-Nefûd. The rays of the rising sun were reflected from the separate peaks in a dense shower of golden sparks, while the sides turned away from the sun were wrapped in a dark red shadow."[1] Such is the æsthetic aspect of el-Hismeh, but it is significant that on the international map of these regions it still remains a featureless blank. No road passes down its long expanse ; for the pilgrim route which enters at its north-west corner hurries across it eastward to the easier avenue now occupied by the Hejaz railway. In all the length and breadth of it there is no sign of an oasis. Sweltering under the glare of a blazing sun, scarred and riven by the icy fingers of winter, swept by pitiless blinding sand-storms[2], its crazy hills bear witness to the penalty which they have paid to the forces of Nature. Truly for those who knew the green flats of the Delta or the smooth outlines of the Palestinian hills or even the rolling down-lands of the Negeb, the memory of such a place must have retained the horror of a nightmare. Is there not here at least a part of that " terrible wilderness " which once lay between Israel and the Promised Land ?

The Harras.—So far we have not dealt with the southern boundary of this waste. "A black rampart, as if heaped up by giants "[3] rises beyond, and closes it in on this side. This is the lava-field of Harrat el-Raha, which extends some 80 miles to the south-east, and is resumed after an interval as the Harrat el-Awaridh. For the most part the Harra is " an endless plain covered with black lava,"[4] and with only the slightest traces of vegetation. Tracks, where they occur, wind in and out among gloomy crags, over sharp lava stones, through narrow rocky defiles. One short passage of description from the explorer's actual experience will suffice to reveal the character of this dreadful desolation. " The river bed was gray, the rocky walls white below, black above, and overhead hovered an ash-coloured

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Musil, p. 34.

[2] Musil, p. 159 (The explorer was himself caught in one of these storms).

[3] Musil, p. 156.

[4] Musil, p. 190.

veil of air which blazed with the glowing heat. I trembled with ague, Rif·at complained that he had a severe headache, Tûmân's eyes were inflamed, red and swollen, the guide . . . . asked for his wages, and announced that he would leave us immediately; two of the camels had their backs lacerated and bleeding [their feet were already terribly torn by the stones]; all were tired and hungry, and we had to press on."[1] Yet appalling as were the hardships of this section of the journey, the view from the summit of the lava-plateau must have been at least a partial reward. "To the west we could see on the Sinai peninsula not only the mountains of the southern part of the peninsula, but also the plain extending to the north of these mountains. Nearer to us towered the steep peaks of Harb and Debbâr, and to the south we had a view of the greater part of the at-Tihama shore. We were travelling at a height of about 1460 metres [4788 feet]. Around us extended a black, lifeless, slightly undulating plain that stretched beyond the limits of our vision. The deep narrow ravines seemed to be blacker than the plain itself." Two points may be noticed in this description, before we pass on. The *direct range* of view to the plains of the Sinai peninsula from this corner of the Harra is at the least 160 miles. This will give some idea of the conditions of visibility which obtain around these coasts, and makes it easy to understand how a colossal pillar of smoke, belched forth from these lofty uplands, could be seen by watchers hundreds of miles away.[2] The reference to Jebel Harb is also of interest, because the resemblance of its name to Horeb has inclined some scholars to identify it with the Mount of God.[3] Harb, however, like its sister mountain, Debbar, is not a volcano, but an isolated peak in the black granite range of el-Jeles. For the true site of Horeb we must search within the Harras themselves, where scores of extinct volcanic cones rear their heads from the wilderness of the craggy plateau around. It is, indeed, on the fringe of the Harrat el-Raha where it fades away with the disappearance of its mountain-brink upon the west that we find, quite unexpectedly, the place we seek.

El-Ga'a and Tadra—The interval between the two Harras of el-Raha and el-Awaridh is filled by the green basin of the hospitable plain, el-Ga'a. The approach to this plain from the west is by way of the Wady Abu Hamata, a broad defile "enclosed by high sandstone rocks covered with a stratum of lava," and a similar pass carries the road through the Harrat el-Awaridh to the more open avenue occupied by the Hejaz railway. As the traveller advances eastward through the Wady Abu Hamata, he finds the valley broadening out into a basin enclosed on all sides by low, but steep, slopes. This is el-Ga'a, the "watering place," as it is significantly called from the unusually large number of rain-water tanks with which it has been provided by Nature. Its surface is "covered with a fairly deep layer of clay, in which various plants thrive luxuriantly, and it therefore forms the best winter encampment of the Beli. The guide proudly pointed out to us the abundant withered pasturage through which we were passing, and asked whether throughout our journey from Tebûk we had seen so many and such various plants. The annuals were yellowish, while the shrubs were a brilliant green."[1] Penetrating still further eastward into this plain, the track crosses, on the left, the course of a broad valley, the Wady Dherwa, which, running from north to south, divides the table mountains on the west of el-Ga'a from the similar, but isolated mountain of Tadra to the east. Another valley, the Wady el-Nejileh, coming also from the north, not only joins the Wady Dherwa on this side, but completes the isolation of Tadra on its eastern flank as well. High up this second valley, under the northern slopes of the mountain, are situated the wells, Kulbân Htzêr, and near these is a holy place, el-Manhal, upon which there are twelve stones, known as el-Madhbah (the Place of Sacrifice). The Beli tribesmen are reported to be still in the habit of offering sacrifices on this altar when they are encamped in the plain. In the Wady Dherwa, on the western slopes of Tadra, there is said to have been at one time a spring, now clogged up by a collapse of rock. South-west of Tadra the plain is overlooked by the hill of Tor Hamde, to which a further reference will be made below. To the south-east is the volcano of el-'Azi, in which are "the caves of the servants of Moses" (Moghayer 'Abid Mûsa), where the prophet's retinue is said to have sheltered while their master was abiding with Allah. It is unwise, as we have already seen, to rely too far on these Arab folk-tales, but the reader will have already noticed several details curiously reminiscent of *Exodus*. We come now to the mountain itself. So far we have called it Tadra, but this name only refers to the lower part of it. This is described by the explorer as a grey table-mountain (presumably of some lime-, or sand- stone), upon the eastern slopes of which rises a black volcanic cone, bearing the name Hala el-Bedr.[1] This volcano, we are told, is regarded by the surrounding Bedouin as a holy mountain, and this seems to be amply confirmed by the existence at its foot of the sacred spot el-Manhal " where various signs and inscriptions are said to be carved on sacrificial boulders."[2] " Tadra and the entire surrounding district is associated with various legends. The volcano of al-Bedr is said once to have vomited fire and stones, destroying many Bedouins and their camels and sheep. Since then the Bedouins have been afraid to ascend this volcano and they drive away their animals, not allowing them to graze upon the slopes or upon the gray ridge of Tadra." There is a legend connected with this volcano which sounds curiously like a confused version of Elijah's sojourn at the Brook Cherith, which, since the prophet visited the Mount of God, may not be altogether without relevance. Beneath el-Bedr " there was once encamped a Bedouin ' belonging to the men of vision' (ahl as-sirr)—*i.e.*, acquainted with what is a secret to others. This Bedouin had intercourse with heavenly spirits. When his tribe wished to migrate and to seek better territory for their flocks, he dissuaded them. . . . But his fellow tribesmen would not listen to him. They departed, and the man of vision was left deserted with his daughter Hamda near the holy volcano of el-Bedr. He used to sit in the summit of the volcano and his daughter upon its spur, which was named Tor Hamde after her. Every day Allah sent them an eagle, which gave half-a-loaf to the man of vision and half-a-loaf to his daughter."[3] This continued for twenty years, when the remnants of the tribe returned after many failures and, thereafter following the holy man's advice, enjoyed once more their lost prosperity. It is, of course, quite possible that both this and the legend of the "servants of Moses" have found their way through Christian or Jewish channels into these regions; but, if this is so, it is at least strange that there is no suggestion of a legend identifying this holy volcano with the Mount of God. The fact that the explorer himself was not prepared to accept the volcanic explanation of Horeb-Sinai is moreover a sufficient guarantee that the information which he extracted from his guide was not tainted by any temptation to invent or embellish legends for the sake of reward.[1] No question as to the traditional site of the sacred Mount arose, and though the explorer was unfortunately not able to visit the Place of Sacrifice himself, the account of it given him may be accepted as at least ingenuous, and, in its broad outline, not incorrect. It will be almost superfluous to emphasise the importance of these discoveries, for it would be hard to conceive a more astonishing fulfilment of so many various conditions in a single locality. We are seeking a Mount of God, a holy volcano; it is here. This mountain must stand in isolation, so that "bounds" could be set about it, and neither men nor cattle be permitted to approach its borders: we have it here, a mountain entirely isolated from the surrounding hills; and to this day, as the result of the memory of some past eruption, the Bedouin will neither approach it nor allow their animals to graze upon its slopes. The mountain we are seeking has the strange characteristic of a double nomenclature; it is Horeb, and it is also Sinai[2]: the mountain which we have found has the same peculiarity; it is Tadra and it is also el-Bedr. The locality which we are seeking must provide a good encampment for a migrating people, in spite of the fact that its mountain stands in a wilderness: the place we have found provides the best pasturage and watering place for scores of miles around. The earliest tradition assigns the first miraculous outburst of water to a "rock in Horeb"[3]: here, on the lower slopes of the mountain, the traces of a spring survive. The earliest tradition

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[1] Musil, *loc. cit.*

[2] The actual distance to Suez is about 400 miles.

[3] McNeile, p. cv.

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[1] Musil, p. 214. The account which follows is derived almost verbatim from the explorer's narrative.

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[1] Musil shows on his map another cone also called Hala Bedr some miles to the east.

[2] Musil, p. 216.

[3] Musil, p. 215.

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[1] It is perhaps unnecessary to point out that even where such information is disingenuous, no reflection is thereby cast on the explorer himself. The slightest suggestion of the kind of answer he hopes for is often quite enough to start a string of highly imaginative fables.

[2] This explanation of the double name of the Mount of God is, we believe, offered here for the first time. This curious anomaly has never been satisfactorily accounted for. McNeile (p. cii sq.) attempts to prove the existence of two entirely distinct mountains, but the result is far from convincing.

[3] Ex. xvii. 6.

records the building of an altar " under the mount " with " twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel "[1] : here, at the mountain foot, there is reported a sacred place, a " place of sacrifice " so venerable that it is still used as such by the surrounding Bedouin ; and upon it—twelve stones ! Or let us take more general considerations, leaving on one side the folk-tales of Moses and the " man of vision." We expected to find the Mount of God on the western edge of the pasture lands of the plateau : we find it precisely in this position. Looking from the far north, we expected to find it beyond a ' great and terrible wilderness ' : what we actually find is the huge wind-eroded and uninhabited tract of el-Hismeh and beyond it the cruel uplands of black lava. If, in spite of all this accumulation of evidence, it is still too much to claim that our thesis is proved, and our site identified, it may at least be urged that there are probabilities here too strong to be ignored. Proof, absolute and convincing, will perhaps never be obtained ; and until these regions have been carefully re-explored, much that has been here set down as reported must lack the force which only a first-hand confirmation can give. The most that we dare assert in the meanwhile is that the two-fold strand of evidence, the evidence of the Bible and the evidence of the country itself, is decisively in favour of this site. It may be useful in conclusion to summarise this evidence, the strength of which is best seen in tabular form.

1. *Horeb-Sinai was a volcano.* It is on this assumption, and on this only, that the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, the lightnings, thick smoke, convulsive tremblings, and flaming summit of the mountain, and, finally, the mysterious Tables of the Covenant " written by the hand of God," are capable of any rational explanation. (The other alternative, that the whole story is a highly embellished fairy tale is refuted by its tremendous and persistent effect on Israel.)

2. *This volcano was in the land of Midian.* The Biblical evidence is quite clear on this point and indicates further that the Midianite territory lay east of the Araba and the gulf of Akaba and extended in ancient times, from Moab as far south at least as Dedan (el-'Ala).

3. *Two volcanic fields lie in or adjacent to the land of Midian as so determined,* one of them in the north near Ma'an, the other forming the Harras of the northern Hejaz. Of these, the former may safely

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[1] Ex. xxiv., 4.

be disregarded, since its proximity to a region so well known to Israel as Edom deprives it of any claim to the mysterious remoteness of Horeb-Sinai; nor is there any such "great and terrible wilderness" as must be presumed to separate the Mount of God from the Promised Land.

4. *In the volcanic regions of the Harras, we find without difficulty the locality and the mountain we are seeking.* In an extraordinary number of particulars, they fit precisely the conditions of Israelite tradition.

Provisionally, then, we affirm the identity of this mountain, Tadra-Hala el-Bedr with the Biblical Mount of God, Horeb-Sinai.

DISCOVERIES AT PEKIIN.

By I. Ben-Zevil.

Among the hills of Naphtali lurks the small village el-Bukaia, settled partly by Druzes and partly by orthodox Christians, Moslems, and Jews. Among the Jews the village has always been called Pekiin. Pekiin is not the only village in the country where the Jews lived for several hundred years an agricultural life, but only here has there remained to this day a community of Jewish farmers peculiar of its kind, while the other Jewish rural settlements, such as the settlement of Shafraam and Kefar Yasin in Palestine or Hasbei and Der Elkamr in the Lebanon, were abandoned a generation or two ago.

I have already had occasion to speak, in Hebrew journals and magazines, of this village and its archæology in general, while in my book *Shear Yishuv* I treated in particular of things concerning the Jewish settlement in the village Pekiin and its history. I gathered up the old sources from the Talmud, the Midrash, and the Zohar, that testify to the antiquity of the Jewish settlement in this place. In this way, I proved, on the strength of printed documents, especially on the basis of material drawn from the Responsa literature of the Rabbis, that the agricultural Jewish settlement now existing in this village is to be referred to a period preceding that of the immigration of the Jewish exiles from Spain (expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492).

During my occasional visits at Pekiin I succeeded in discovering a few archæological remains that belong to the Mishnaic-Talmudic period (that of the Roman or Roman-Byzantine rule), which were not known before my discovery. Some of these I propose to describe here :—

(1) The Seven-branched Candelabrum.

During my visit to Kefar Pekiin in September, 1926, I discovered in the synagogue of the Jewish congregation a stone upon which was carved in relief the seven-branched candelabrum, together with other holy vessels, the photograph of which I am adding herewith

(Plate I). A fine reproduction of this stone, made in plaster of Paris is at my house, two other reproductions being in the Jewish archæological museum (at the Bezalel school) and in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

The length of the surface of the stone is 27 c. and its width is between 38 and 43 c. From the fact that its upper part is wider than the lower, one may judge that the stone was intended to form part of an arch of the synagogue gate or of the door of the holy ark.

The relief represents the seven-branched candelabrum with its knops, its cups, and its flowers. The length of its central branch is 55 c., and the depth of the relief is 2-4 c. The base of the branch is a pedestal on three legs, resembling the small candelabrum which was discovered by Prof. N. Slousz at Tiberias (1). Another example of this pedestal may be seen in the candelabrum of Aphek, which illumines the books " Mikra " of the publication *Devir* (2).

On the branches there is the form of candles turning towards the central branch, as it is said in the Law : " And they shall light the lamps thereof, to give light over against it " (Ex. xxv. 37). Under the branches of the candelabrum, to the right, there is the form of an inverted Shophar, under it being the form of an elongated box, whereas on the left of the pedestal of the candelabrum are two Ethrogs and a Lulab. All these symbols : the Shophar, the Ethrogs and the Lulab, are very ancient symbols that accompany the pictures of the candelabrum known to us (such as the one of Aphek). Representations of Ethrogs and Lulabs we find already upon the Jewish coins of Simon the Maccabee and Bar Cochba.

A more difficult question is that of the box. My first hypothesis was that it was a spice box, of which use is made for scenting on the outgoing of Sabbaths and holidays. Among the Sephardic Jews the custom is still extant of scenting spices in the synagogue also on other occasions. A similar box was found with the representation of the candelabrum discovered in the ruins of the synagogue of Gerash in Transjordania, and also in Beth Alpha (3). Crowfoot and Hamilton are of the opinion that this is a box which served as a receptacle for the Book of the Torah (Law), and Dr. E. Sukenik is inclined to accept their opinion. But Prof. S. Klein justly remarks that there is no proportion between this small receptacle and the Shophar and the Lulab (1). He also draws attention to the fact that on the right side of the vessel a handle is seen, which is irrelevant, if the vessel is a receptacle for the Torah. Prof. Klein expresses his opinion that the boxes beside the candelabra of Gerash and of Pekiin are nothing but alms boxes, and the points seen within the vessel (of Gerash) are the coins thrown into the box.

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(1) See periodical of the Hebrew Society for the Study of Palestine, edited by Dr. N. Slousz, I. (1921), p. 10 (Jerusalem).

(2) See, for example, *Toldoth-Biqoreth Hamikra* (Soloweitziq and Rubashov), front page.

(3) See *Tarbitz*, II., article by Dr. Sukenik.

Though the reason adduced by Prof. Klein, that the vessels of the Havdalah and the Qidush belong rather to the class of holy vessels for home service, cannot stand criticism, as these vessels serve also for synagogual purposes, yet the conjecture of Prof. Klein is plausible enough ; and so I do not intend to discuss here the question whether my conjecture is the correct one or that of Prof. Klein.

The candelabrum of Pekiin is sunk in the left wall of the existing synagogue. According to the tradition of the Jewish peasants, the candelabrum-stone originally belonged to the old synagogue that existed in the village before the present one. And if we compare the candelabrum of Pekiin with the candelabra of Aphek and Kefar Nahum (Capernaum), of Beth Alpha and Gerash, we shall find that they are alike in many details. We may conclude, then, that the candelabrum of Pekiin belongs to the same period as that to which the other candelabra belong, namely to the Roman or the Byzantine period, which falls, according to the authorities, at the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries. This period tallies with Jewish tradition, which ascribes the building of the synagogues mentioned to Rabbi Simon son of Yokhai, who lived, as is well known, about the middle of the second century A.D.

Pekiin is indeed bound up in its memories with Rabbi Simon ben Yokhai. To this day the Pekiinites show the traditional cave where Rabbi Simon ben Yokhai and his son hid themselves from the Romans for thirteen years, and the ancient carob tree beside the cave on whose fruit the holy Tana and his son subsisted during the days of their exile. The story itself is known from the Talmud and the Midrashim, where the name of the cave in *Peka* is plainly mentioned. It is interesting to observe that in the Babylonian Talmud (Bameh Madlikin, III.$_1$) the synagogue is mentioned in which the Tana hid himself before his hiding in the cave, and it is not impossible that the candelabrum stone belonged to that ancient synagogue, which is mentioned in the Talmud.

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(1) See *Zion. Reports of the Palestine Society for History and Ethnography ;* 1930, " The Synagogue at Jerash."

(2) The Door Tablet.

This year I discovered, with the assistance of Mr. Alexander Ratner, another stone near the first one, and of the same size. On this stone there is the image of a beautiful door in relief. Both stones are sunk in the left wall of the synagogue of Pekiin, every visitor being able to see it now clearly, after the Jewish farmers have removed the plaster which had covered them for many years.[1] The height of this second stone is 55 c. and its width 40 c., whereas the length of the relief is 47 c. and its width 31 c. (See Plate II.)

The relief of the door is divided into two halves along the stone, each half being subdivided into three parts. The relief upon one of these parts is a square of double length enclosed in a frame. Three lines along the stone separate the two halves of the door.

On the two sides of the door, to the right and to the left, there are two columns upon which are carved curving lines. These columns stand on bases. A similar structure we find in the doors of the holy ark in the synagogue of our own time. Above the columns there are two plain crowns, and over the door itself an upper lintel, an arch representing a half sun radiating its rays. The sun is situated in the centre of the lintel, its rays covering the arch. Above the first arch there is another arch in the form of a sickle with two elongated ends, and upon it there is a third arch in the form of a scythe, its rays being cast downwards.

The whole representation is undoubtedly that of the holy ark of the synagogue, and there is reason to believe that it was situated above the real holy ark. In the opinion of the authorities, this representation belongs to an ancient period, before the birth of Islam, between the second and the fifth centuries A.D. Accordingly, it is complementary to the candelabrum, and it corroborates my conjecture that Pekiin of to-day is swarming with Jewish antiquities that belong to the Roman or Byzantine period. This, then, is additional proof that there has existed here a Jewish settlement from the times of the Mishna and the Talmud.

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[1] The present synagogue is not ancient. According to tradition there existed two synagogues before it. The stones described above are relics of those synagogues, at the destruction of which they were put into the wall of the present synagogue.

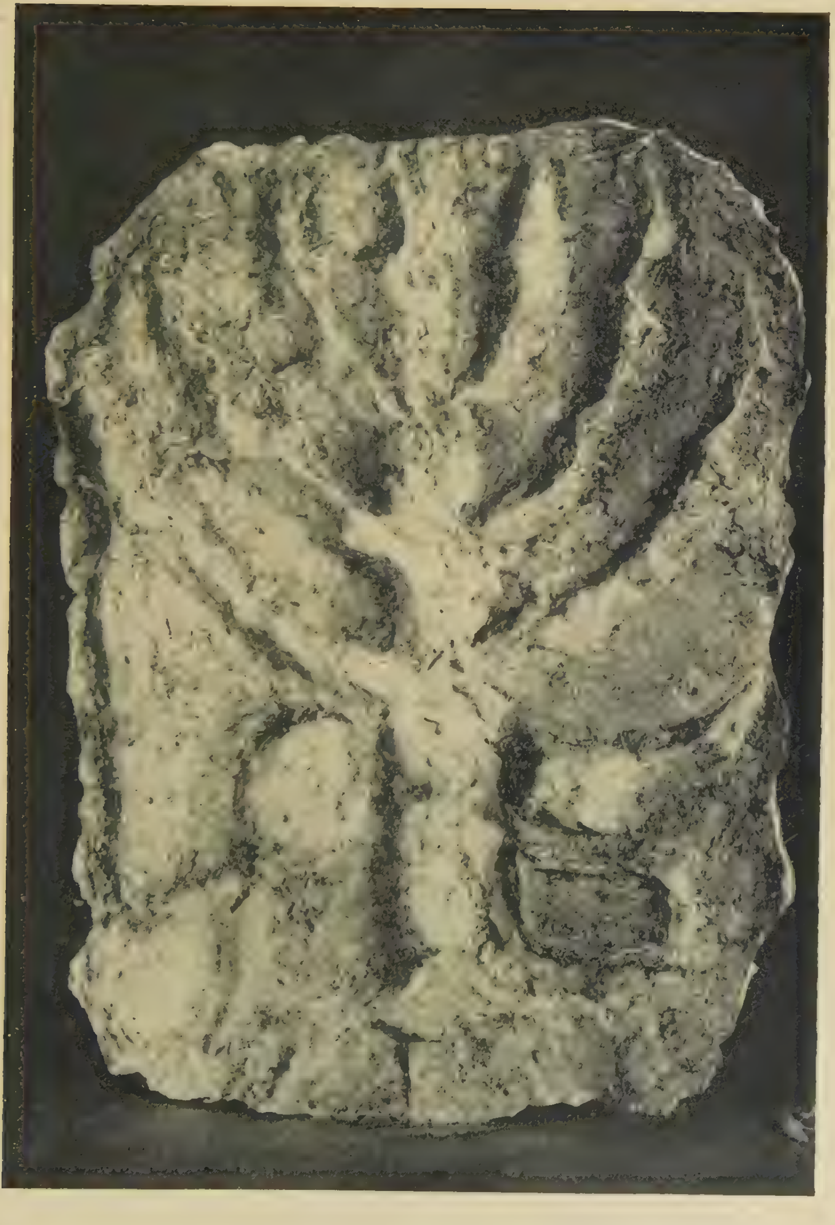
(3) THE CLUSTER OF GRAPES.

In one of the houses of the Druzes situated near the Jewish quarters, where the synagogue is found, there is sunk a stone bearing the carving of a cluster of grapes, the picture of which I reproduce. (Plate 2.) This is also a customary motive in the art of the ancient Jews, depicting one of the " seven kinds with which the land was blessed."

REVIEWS.

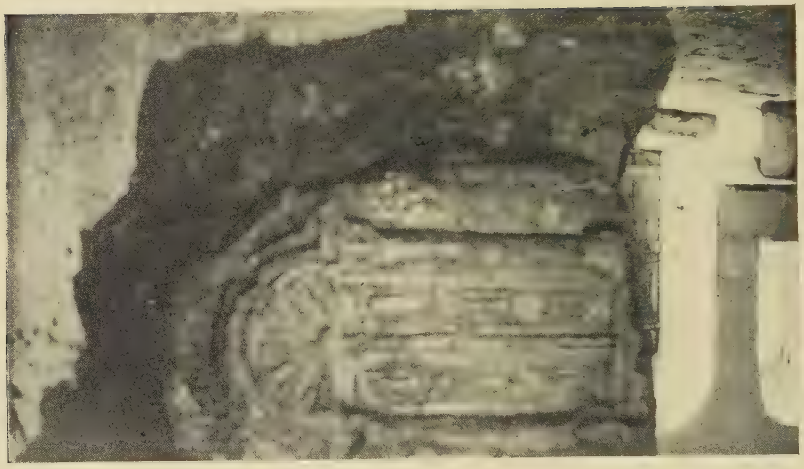
The Cradle of the Bible. By Mgr. Legendre. Translated by the Dominican Sisters of Portobello Road, London; Sands and Co., 1930. 3s. 6d.

THIS volume, number IX., in the "Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge" is described as the "final fruit of half-a-century's scientific toil." The author, who made the Holy Land the subject of a life's study, died before the book could be published, and a brother Professor at Angers has carried out his dying wishes in seeing it through the press. The result of this collaboration is a work of great scientific value to all those who wish to know Palestine—geographically and historically—thoroughly, and this quite apart from their particular religious persuasion. It is a book to be studied, but, though packed with facts, it is easy to read, indeed in places it is colloquial in style. After a preliminary chapter on the "General Aspect of the Land," there are four sections—I. Western Palestine, II. The Central Depression, III. Transjordania, and IV. "The Country as a Whole," including geology, physical features, flora and fauna. Under all these headings this little book is a safe and up-to-date guide. The translation is well done, though in a few cases the

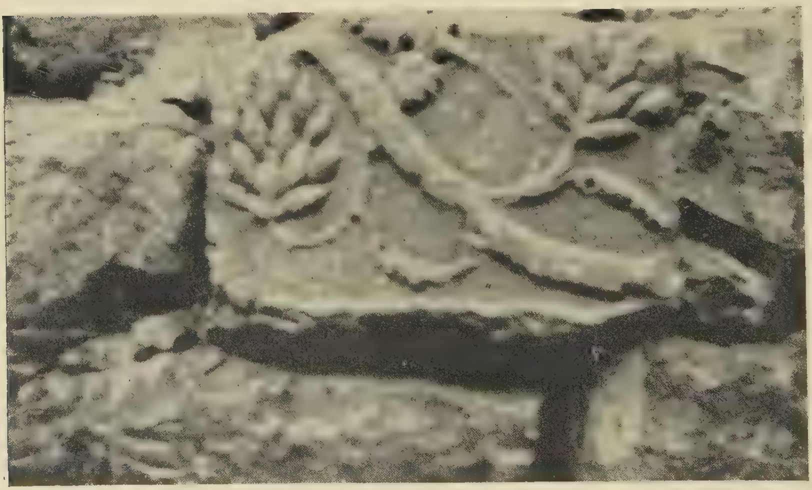


1. Pekiin. Seven-branched Candelabrum.

Palestine Exploration Fund. *Plate II.*



2. Pekiin. "Door" Tablet.



3. Pekiin. Cluster of Grapes.

English equivalent is somewhat strange, *e.g.*, Vegetal (p.57), Ingenuity (p. 59), Santon (p. 61), Violescent (p. 63), etc., and the Bible references not being to the authorised version, the ordinary reader may find the spelling in many places strange—*e.g.*, Cison (Kishon), Barsabee (Beersheba), Osee (Hosea), Josue (Joshua), etc., but it would be a great mistake if these unfamiliar names should limit the use of this work to the members of the Church for whom it was especially written. Tradition and religious controversy find no place within these pages, and for anyone who wants an accurate and scientific account of the Holy Land in a handy volume—at too, one may add, a most moderate price—there is no better modern book.

Jerusalem und sein Gelände. von Gustaf Dalman, with 40 illustrations and a large map of the whole environs of Jerusalem. Volume V. in *Schriften des Deutschen Palästina-Instituts.* Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann. 1930. 20 marks.

Professor Dalman has made Palestine, and more particularly Jerusalem and its surroundings, a life study. Here we have a full scientific account of the hills and valleys, the roads and the fountains in and around the Holy City. It is an authoritative work which could only be done by one who like Professor Dalman, has collected his information on the spot. Arabic place names are everywhere given. There are references to the more important recent literature. It chiefly refers to things which cannot change, like natural features, ancient sites, etc., and it is thus a work of permanent value. Of particular interest to all are the wonderful photographs at the end, especially those taken from the air, which are extraordinarily clear and greatly elucidates the text. The work is a welcome edition to any library, and we are glad to have it in 2, Hinde Street.

E. W. G. M.

The Accuracy of the Old Testament. By the Rev. Garrow Duncan, B.D. London: S. P. C. K. 1930. 6s.

A very considerable proportion of those who support excavations in Palestine do so with the hope that such work may prove the "accuracy" of the Old Testament. Such a book as this, calling attention to a number of "side lights" on the Bible observed in the course of such work, should have a wide circulation. Mr. Garrow Duncan has spent some years in actual "digging" in Egypt and

Palestine; he has kept himself in touch with the latest work, and he is a student of the Old Testament, both in English and in Hebrew. He is therefore singularly equipped to show in a popular manner how excavations, and other observations, in Palestine illustrate the Old Testament records. His interpretations will not appear convincing in every detail to every reader, but he here gives his own views, which are formed from firsthand knowledge. We can commend this little book, with its many interesting illustrations, to all readers of the *Quarterly Statement*. It surely must stimulate subscribers to the P.E.F. to renewed efforts to obtain still more light on the past, seeing how much has already been accomplished.

E. W. G. M.

In the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, May, 1930, J. D. S. Pendlebury describes, on the basis of archæological evidence, the relations between Egypt and the Ægean in the late Bronze Age, and offers an interesting reconstruction of the history from the fall of Crete and the Minoan State. He suggests that the downfall of Crete was due to the economic necessities of the powerful Cretan colonies in the Ægean and their desire to control the rich commerce with Egypt; and that possibly the rupture of relations with Egypt was the direct cause of the Trojan War and ultimately of the downfall of the Achæan power.

The Rev. Arthur S. Langley draws attention, in the *Expository Times*, July, p. 477 sqq., to the recent discovery that "manna" is what is well-known elsewhere as "honey-dew," a sweet excretion of plant lice (Aphidæ) and scale insects (coccidæ). In the dry climate of the Sinaitic desert the excretion crystallises, producing white grains. The information is due to a small expedition to the Sinaitic Peninsula, organised by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, in 1923, the leaders of which (Dr. F. S. Bodenheimer and Dr. O. Theodor) published the account of their investigations last year.

In the same issue the Rev. J. W. Jack gives a brief survey of the work of excavation in Palestine, and Prof. Moffatt reviews a book on the *Jews and Phœnicians* (by the late Georg Rosen, his son, and Prof. Bertram) which has some interesting views on the spread of Jewish missionary enterprise, and the fusion of Jews and

Phœnicians. As regards this last point mention may be made here of two very original and extremely suggestive books by American scholars; *Hebrewisms of West Africa*, by Joseph J. Williams (The Dial Press, New York), and *The Lost Tribes a Myth—Suggestions Towards Rewriting Hebrew History*, by Alan H. Godbey (Duke University). They all agree with Renan that there was no Jewish type of a specific racial character (*cf.* also R. N. Salaman, *Q. S.*, 1925, pp. 37, 68), that the Old Testament history gives only a very restricted account of Jewish (or Hebrew) activities, and that "Jewish" beliefs and practices were carried outside the limits of the Oriental world. Dr. Godbey's volume (800 pages and numerous plates) is probably the most provocative work, in the best sense, that we have had for years; and his "suggestions towards rewriting Hebrew history" will convince his readers how far we still are from any coherent or consistent conception of the history.

The "Synagogue of the Herodians," supposed to be mentioned in a Greek inscription found in a Jewish catacomb in Vigna Randanini on the Appian Way, in Rome, nearly 70 years ago, is subjected to a re-examination by Harry J. Leon, of the University of Texas, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1929, pp. 318-321. The inscription is a fragment (. . . γωγης . . . ιροδιων . . . ευλογια πασι), and many letters must have intervened between the first two groups of letters. Hence the name of the synagogue must have been contained in the gap between these groups, and Mr. Leon conjectures that Rodion (Ροδίων) was the name of the man who set up the inscription. The preceding I was probably a dative (? "father"). As the synagogue of the Campesians (*i.e.*, of the Campus Martius) is the only one attested in the inscriptions of this catacomb, he conjectures that this fragment was a commemoration possibly to the archon of the synagogue of the Campesians by his son (?) Rodion. In the same journal (March, 1930, pp. 1-25), Raymond P. Dougherty identifies the Sea-land of the Akkadian inscriptions with North Arabia, including the east side of the Gulf of Aqaba, and the Nefud district, once more fertile than it is now. It played an important part in history, and would serve as the corridor between Babylonia and Egypt. Its proximity to South Palestine would make it—if the identification be correct—

a significant factor in Hebrew history, and would enhance the evidence otherwise known for the influence of North Arabia upon Israel.

In *Biblica*, vol. xi., Parts 1 and 2, an account of the excavations by the Pontifical Biblical Institute in the eastern valley of the Jordan is given by A. Mallon. At the Teleilat (Tells of) Ghassûl were traces of a settlement believed to be more ancient perhaps than Jericho and Gezer; it reached a high state of culture and was destroyed in the first period of the Bronze Age by an immense conflagration (p. 22). Further examination (p. 148) showed that the pottery descended to about the xxth cent. B.C. (beginning of the Second Bronze Age). Can the place be identified? In the same numbers E. Power discusses the site of the Pentapolis, for though scholars are practically unanimous in locating the cities of which Sodom and Gomorrah formed part to the *south* of the Dead Sea there is evidence favouring the *north*. Conflicting traditions can be traced in the early centuries of this era—thus Zoar is placed at the S.E. extremity of the Dead Sea, but, in its Greek form, Segor, is first attested in the north. The biblical, epigraphical and other data are fully examined and the strength of the arguments for the northern site set forth. It is suggested that the early Jewish exegetes were misled by Gen. xiv. 3*b* and xix, 25, and identified the valley of Siddim with the Pentapolis region in the former text (the source of the theory of the submersion of the cities), and understood the destruction in the latter text to be due to an earthquake. Josephus appears to have been acquainted with both the northern and the southern traditions. Geology proves that the Dead Sea already existed in the early part of the diluvial periods, if not earlier. It is easier to explain the "southern" tradition as an erroneous development of the "northern," than the reverse. "Further excavations and researches are necessary before a definite identification [of Sodom] on a scientific basis can be attempted. But some progress has been made towards an ultimate conclusion if we have succeeded in proving that the valley to the north of the Dead Sea was the site of the Pentapolis."

The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research contains (October, 1929) a report on "New Israelite and Pre-Israelite Sites," by W. F. Albright, wherein he points out that Mt. Ephraim seems to have been occupied during the Middle Bronze Age and was then abandoned during 1500-1200 B.C. At Seilun (Shiloh) Early Iron Age pottery exhibits practically nothing later than the XIth cent. B.C., thus confirming the generally accepted critical view that Shiloh was destroyed by the Philistines after the battle of Ebenezer. Its occupation began in the Late Bronze Age. Ai (et-Tell) was abandoned early in that age and never reoccupied. In general, he concludes that " if the Hebrews attacked and destroyed many of the Canaanite towns on Central Palestine in the XVIth and XVth centuries B.C., but did not settle down themselves until the XIIIth and XIIth, the archæological situation would be fully explained." It is owing to the tendency of official history to harmonise divergent traditions that the account of the Conquest which we have in Joshua disregards the genuine traditions of an earlier occupation, traces of which survive in Gen. xxxiv, xlviii, 22, I. Chron., vii., 21 sqq., and also Jubilees xxxiv. In Galilee the old site of Mecron is to be identified with the ancient Meron where Joshua defeated the coalition headed by the King of Hazor (*i.e.*, Tell el-Ḳedah) discovered by Garstang. In the February *Bulletin* the new director, Dean Chester C. McCown, continues a survey of the archæological work, describing the labour of Sir Flinders Petrie at Tell el-Fāri', Mr. Guy at Megiddo, and others. "Numerous examples of a fine microlithic culture, which is to be compared with that found (in 1928) at Shukbah and Wadi el-Mughārah have been discovered (by Sir Flinders): the discovery of several stations with what appear to be palæolithic artefacts on a plain in a region far from caves raises problems." An interesting account is given of the synagogue mosaic unearthed at Beth Alpha in the plains of Jezreel. Here were depicted the various holy vessels, an ark flanked by two birds representing Cherubim, the trumpet, *lulāb*, *ethrog* and the candlesticks; in the centre was a circular Zodiac with genii representing the four seasons, and in the middle the four horsed chariot of the Sun from which the twelve signs radiated Charles L. Taylor, Jr., describes the work of the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem.

In the *Geographical Review* (New York), July, a most instructive account is given by Carl R. Raswan of "Tribal Areas and Migration Lines of the North Arabian Bedouins" (pp. 494—502, 3 figures and a special map). He points out that the migrations are not arbitrary; there are well-defined landmarks, though a powerful tribe like the Ruala may raid its neighbours, and the Shammar and 'Aneze nomads came up from the south during the first part of the XVIIth century, from which time the present tribal areas have remained roughly the same. On rare occasions nomad tribes, whose normal range lies far north in Syria, return south to the Nefūd desert region. Tendencies to settled life can be seen; and the Tayy, "one of the purest, most aristocratic Bedouin tribes from central Arabia," are now found near Nisibis with semi-permanent dwellings (reed and clay walls, goat's hair, canvas roof): "indeed the Tayy have become a degenerate people." The writer does not speak hopefully of the future of the nomads under the present "problematical political frontiers" between the British and French spheres of influence. Apropos of all this it may be observed that an exciting picture is drawn of the 'Anazeh ('Aneze) on the march, with their innumerable camels, a brown creeping mass several miles broad, which took nearly eight hours to pass. This is to be found in *Syria, Division I.: Geography and Itinerary*, publication of the Princetown University Archæological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909. The publication has been delayed through the death of Professor Henry Crosby Butler, the promotor and director of the expeditions. E. R. Stoever describes the expedition of 1904-5, using the notes and journal of F. A. Norris, and H. C. Butler that of 1909. With illustrations and maps the volume gives a very readable and useful account of the areas traversed, and the incident referred to (from Butler's account, p. 89 sq.) is only one of many touches which make it a welcome companion to the series now almost complete.

Of the "Communications" of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, No. 4, by Clarence S. Fisher, "The excavation of Armageddon" (1928), describes the progress made by the Rockefeller expedition during the initial stages of the work. After a foreword by Prof. James Breasted, Dr. Fisher surveys the topography and history of Megiddo, organisation, methods, the clearing of the eastern slope, the excavation of the summit, and the pottery corpus. Meticulous methods are employed in dealing with the pottery, and much will be hoped for from this one of the best equipped of all excavating parties; see further Mr. Crowfoot's report, p. 172.

In Communication No. 7: *Medinet Habu Studies*, 1928-9, Uvo Hölscher surveys the architectural features of the temples of Ramses III, and the buildings for the "god's wives," priestesses, etc., and J. A. Wilson writes on the language of the commemorative historical texts. "Free rhythm rather than a rigid metre characterizes Egyptian poetry: the most obvious verse characteristic is a sonorous balance of utterance, familiar to us from the Old Testament."

H. H. Von der Osten, in No. 8, continues his account of explorations in Hittite Asia Minor. There are some delightful pages on the human side of the excavator's trade and of the people he comes in contact with. At Carchemish looters had chipped off faces of the figures to sell and had smashed some of the large lion sculptures out of wantonness. Illustrations are given of "Hittite" sculptures recently discovered at Marash. Natives still wear the "conical" cap and some men were wearing "large silver bracelets which might have been actually copied from Assyrian reliefs." The greater part of the "Communications" consists of a description of the writer's archæological tour, and it concludes with a series of useful notes (pp. 158—177) on Garstang's *The Hittite Empire.*

In the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, liii, 2, Prof. Steuernagel edits the completion of Dr. Valentin Schwöbel's study of the Samarian district of Palestine. An archæological tour through Palestine and Syria by A. Jirku, contains a number of interesting topographical notes. In Ham, south-east of Kefr Jūba he recognised the Ham of Gen. xiv, 5. Among judicious remarks on the necessity of the critical treatment of the identification of place-names may be mentioned his conclusion that She_im, north-east of Sidon cannot be the Isiḫimme, near Sidon, of Esarhaddon's day, as there are no remains of ancient buildings or pottery. Rible, a modern village, it was evident, could not be the old Riblah, but about half-a-mile to the north east was a tell with pottery which corresponded to the date (*c.* 1600—600 B.C.); but as there were no signs of Roman-

Byzantine ware, it is possible that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the site, and it was never rebuilt.

Similar archæological tours, under Prof. Alt, are described in the twenty-fifth issue of *Palästinajahrbuch* (1929). One of its most interesting contents is Rudolph's article on Senacherib's campaign in Palestine and the really immense defeat (200,150 people carried off) which the Assyrian claims to have inflicted : a catastrophe from which the Judæan state never quite recovered. The study, with a short contribution by Alt on the territorial consequences of Senacherib's invasion, suggests that a proper estimate of the political conditions in and around Judah is a starting-point for a consideration of the subsequent history of Palestine, and in particular of the Philistine cities (Ashdod, etc.).

Attention may be called, in passing, to the occasional importance of the reviews in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeiger* for our field. In the April issue the Swedish scholar, Martin Nilsson, in his review of Matz, *Die frühkretischen Siegel* (pp. 126—133) has some valuable remarks upon the cultural inter-relations throughout the ancient Near East, pointing out, *inter alia*, that nomad peoples do not carry about with them breakable vessels of clay, but rather those that are more durable, of leather, wood, bark, etc. ; the use of clay being always associated with settled life. Hence it is extremely improbable that Indo-German or any other invading peoples carried about with them vessels of clay and so spread pottery patterns. Moreover, it does not follow that cultural and ethnographical areas coincided. After all, instead of worrying about problems of origin where the data are few and uncertain, there is plenty to do where the cultural data are abundant, and one can proceed from the known to the unknown, instead of attempting to explain *ignotum per ignotius*. Altogether a very helpful review.

The *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, too, has admirable reviews, and its articles occasionally bear upon Palestine. In the June issue, H. Torczyner, writing on Deut. iii, 9, suggests that Siryon should be *Serin*, the vocalisation was influenced by the word *Shiryon*, " armour," and by mountain names in *-on*—why not by the vocalisation of Hermon itself ?—and that the writer is stating that the Amorites called the mountain Serin instead of Senir. In the April number of *Litteræ Orientalis*, No. 42 (Harrassowitz, Leipzig), O. G. von Wesendonk writes on the problem of Old Persian Art. He notes the remarkable mixture of people in the Achæmenid empire, the many streams of influence which crossed and re-crossed, and the commercial and other relations with both Greece and India. Even Ionian craftsmen worked in Susa. Achæmenid art was a splendid synthesis, due to Iranian genius, for Cyrus was no brutal invader, but as the representative of a high conception of the State, with his Persians and Medes, united the people into a new and living unity. In the May number of *Theologische Mitteilungen* (Liebisch, Leipzig), Peter Thomsen gives some useful practical information on touring in Palestine—when, where, and how much.

Dr. Joachim Jeremias, of Greifswald, has published another portion of his projected study on Jerusalem in the time of Jesus (Pfeiffer, Leipzig. 1929). Of Part II: the social relations, the first portion (pp. 1-140, price 8.50 marks), deals with the "upper classes": the priests, the noble lay families, the scribes and the Pharisees. The account of the priests occupies half the contents, and is divided into: The high priest, the superior priests and Levites, the priestly aristocracy, the "ordinary priests," the Levites (Clerus minor) and the priestly rights of inheritance. There are full notes and references, and the work. which aims at a thorough enquiry into the cultural background of the New Testament period, will be welcomed by a large class of readers.

The great *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Part IV, vol. iii, fasc. 1), published by the French Academy of Inscriptions, etc., needs no explanation. It is the one indispensable work used by students of Semitic epigraphy; and the latest fascicule comprises the old South Arabian inscriptions (Nos. 596-866). The editors are to be congratulated upon the steady progress of an undertaking of enormous cost and labour, the permanent value of which amply makes up for the inevitable slowness in publication.

Syria, vol. x, fascic. 4 (1929), contains a summary report by F.-A. Schaeffer of the important excavations at Minet el-Beida

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[1] Note, however, that in Hittite texts of the Amarna Age, referred to by Dhorme, *Revue Biblique*, 1930, p. 177 sq., mention is made of *La-ab-la-ni* (Lebanon) and *Sa-ri-ia-na* (Sirion, Hermon), thus substantiating the Hebrew vocalisation.

and Ras Shamra, to which allusion has already been made in these pages (*Q.S.*, April, p. 103 sq.). Dussaud adds a note with special reference to the interrelations between this northern part of the Syrian coast and the Aegean ; and Virolleaud writes on the cuneiform tablets that were unearthed. Of these, some were of the Mitannian period, and related to the Amarna letters ; others were in an entirely novel adaptation of cuneiform, and are, as yet, undeciphered. As pointed out in Weidner's *Archiv für Orientforschung*, vi. (1930), 37, similar tablets, once thought to be forgeries, have been found elsewhere. Some 26-27 different signs can be counted, whereas centuries later the Persians in the Achæmenid period based an alphabet of 36 signs upon the cuneiform. The new tablets appear to point to a consonantal script, and Virolleaud discusses possible solutions, in particular that it may be the prototype of the Cypriote. Henri Seyrig writes on the triads and temples of Heliopolis-Baalbek : he discussses the mazes of the Syrian " theology " of the Græco-Roman age, and throws interesting light upon the syncretism of the period. A specially noteworthy feature is the tendency to associate a supreme god and his visible representation. In vol. xi. fascic. 1 (1930) Maurice Dunand publishes what is perhaps the most remarkable of the many valuable objects discovered at Byblus—it is no other than an inscription in entirely unknown characters, resembling neither the cuneiform script nor the " hieroglyphs " of the Hittite monuments or of the " Phæstus disk " (see *Q.S.*, 1921), though with some points of contact with Egyptian, and a few with the old Semitic script. It consists of some 120 signs, which can be classified into about 38 different types. A. Boissier publishes the Syro-Egyptian cylinder of " Esh-kal-tu-ti servant of (the god) Adad " ; it is more elaborate than the Egypto-Babylonian seal of " Ia-ak-ba-bi (?) the servant of Adad," published by Sidney Smith in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, viii (1922), p. 207 sqq., but has no less obscure elements. The excavations at Ramet el-Khalîl (Mamre) are described by Dupont-Sommer–*cf.* also Mader in the *Revue Biblique*, January, and April—the former questioning the pre-Herodian remains which the latter claims to have discovered. On the other hand, Father Mader, on the strength of potsherds which can be dated to the IXth-VIIIth centuries (Albright) or at least the VIIth-VIth centuries (Vincent)—

argues that remains have been found of buildings and of a pavement of the age of the Judæan monarchy (*Revue Biblique*, pp. 206 sqq.). We have, in fact, the "Via Sacra" to the sanctuary of Abraham. But the date of the site has been pushed back considerably further by the discovery of pottery remains of the First Bronze Age, and, on the strength of an amphora, " one of the most ancient specimens of Palestinian pottery," Father Mader feels able to conclude that the site of Ramet el-Khalīl dates from the First Bronze Age, if not from the Neolithic period—which reminds us of the tradition that Hebron was founded twenty-three centuries before the time of Josephus (*Wars*, iv, 9, 7). While the Biblical narratives tell of the ancient sanctity of Mamre, the archæological evidence shows clearly that, despite any iconoclastic reforms, from " Dan to Beersheba " (2 Kings xxiii.), whether of Josiah, or of any other leader, the place never lost its sanctity, and continued to receive the veneration of pilgrims (p. 224). Also, in the April issue of the *Revue Biblique*, Dhorme (pp. 161-178) continues his study of the Amorites ; Vincent (pp. 226-256), " Saint-Pierre en Gallicante," criticises severely the articles of Father Power in *Biblica*, on " The Site of the House of Caiaphas." A. Barrois summarises the discovery of the synagogue at Gerasa (*Q. S.*, 1929, pp. 211, sqq.), the synagogue at Beth Alpha, and the convent of St. Euthymius (pp. 257-275). To the second of these reference has been made above ; it is of special interest in view of the Zodiac mosaic found at Ain Duk some years ago (*Q. S.*, 1920, pp. 82 sqq.), which is older and less accurate in some particulars. The new mosaic throws no light upon the mysterious L-y which takes the place of Tishri (see *Q. S.*, July, p. 157 ; and my Schweich Lectures : *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archæology*, p. 107).

The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, now entering upon its tength year, includes a careful study by Chester McCown of the old problem of the site of Bethsaida (pp. 32-58). This involves not merely topographical details, but a criticism of the Gospel narratives, for the view is held that the latter point to two places of the name. He concludes, *inter alia*, that " no evidence for a western Bethsaida appears until the time of the Crusades, when sites were moved in wholesale fashion to suit the convenience of pilgrims." The evidence for a western Bethsaida cannot be obtained from the accounts of the Feeding of the Five Thousand :—" The Fourth Gospel, granted that its author is correct, does not imply that the Feast took place on the eastern shore, and therefore allows no certain inference as to the site of Bethsaida, certainly none favouring a western site." Of other articles, R. Neuville's " Notes on Prehistoric Palestine " discusses the objects found in the Mugharet et-Tawamin, near the Wady Said, sometimes identified with the cave of Adullam; the culture is that of Jericho, Gezer, etc., of about 2000 B.C., and since the cave does not seem to have been a dwelling-place, it is suggested that it was used as a refuge. A synagogue inscription from Beit Jibrin, in Aramaic, edited by E. L. Sukenik, runs " Remembered for good be the Lord . . . peace upon his soul ; the son of Auxentios, who built(?) this column in honour of the Children of Israel. Peace." The title *kyrios* is interesting. W. R. Taylor, " Recent epigraphic discoveries in Palestine," includes a new Gezer boundary stone, and another which looks like a duplicate, but is taken to be of the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1600 B.C.), and in a script resembling that of the old Sinaitic inscriptions (see *Q. S.*, 1929, pp. 48 sqq.).

S. A. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *Archæology and the Israelite Invasion.*—In connection with one of your editorial notes in a recent issue, I should like to draw your attention to my article, " Palestine at the Time of the Jewish Conquest," written early last year and published a short time ago in the annual of the Palestine Jewish Ethnographical and Historical Society, *Zion*, Vol. IV, a copy of which I am sending you. Here, I think, I have proved that, apart from the central valley round Shechem, the hill country of Samaria (approximately between lat. 32° and 32° 23′) was not inhabited before the Jewish occupation. Neither Egyptian sources of the middle and new kingdom, nor the Tell el-Amarna correspondence mention a single settlement within the area defined above, with the exception of Shechem (mentioned once in an Egyptian stele of the Middle Kingdom, and once in the Tell el-Amarna correspondence). The examination of Biblical and non-Biblical sources further shows the existence of at least three

large Canaanite kingdoms in pre-Israelite Palestine : one centred round Jerusalem, one round Gezer, and one round Hazor. Again, Samaria is shown to be uninhabited. To this part of the land was directed, therefore, the main effort of the Jewish conquerors ; there, also, grew up from the beginning an independent Jewish community, which directed the Jewish struggles against inside and outside foes in the period of the Judges (Ehud, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Samuel, Saul). The acceptance of this fact can also help to fix the date of the Jewish entry into Canaan. If the tells of Samaria do not, as Dr. Albright claims, show remains of the Late Bronze Age, and such tells in the vicinity of the above-mentioned area as are pre-Iron Age show a period when they were abandoned in the Late Bronze Age, it would be logical to place the date of entry early in the Late Bronze Age (about 1700-1350 B.C. ; Jericho, Ai, Tell en-Nasbeh, etc.), and the beginning of fixed settlements early in the First Iron Age (about 1200 B.C.). The single allusion to Shechem in the Tell el-Amarna correspondence acquires, in this light, a very special importance ; if the lands of Sa-ak-mi are being invaded by the Habiru, about 1380-1360 B.C., are not the Habiru the Hebrews ? I think there is very little doubt now as to the validity of this identification. The fact is all the more striking as these conclusions have been arrived at independently by four people : Eduard Meyer, Alt, Albright, and myself.

Tell-Aviv, June 15. S. YEIVIN.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

HEBREW.	ENGLISH.		HEBREW.	ENGLISH.	
א	’		כ	k̲h̲	
בּ	b		ל	l	
ב	b̲h̲		מ	m	
גּ	g		נ	n	
ג	g̲h̲		ס	s	
דּ	d		ע	‘	
ד	d̲h̲		פּ	p	
ה	h		פ	f	
ו	v, w		צ	ẕ	
ז	z		ק	ḵ	
ח	ẖ		ר	r	
ט	ṯ		שׁ	s̲h̲	
י	y		שׂ	s̱	
כּ	k		תּ	t	
			ת	t̲h̲	

ARABIC.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.		ARABIC.	ENGLISH.	
ا	’		ض	ḏ	
ب	b		ط	ṯ	
ت	t		ظ	t̲z̲	
ث	t̲h̲		ع	‘	
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	g̲h̲	
ح	ẖ		ف	f	
خ	k̲h̲		ق	ḳ	
د	d		ك	k	
ذ	d̲h̲		ل	l	
ر	r		م	m	
ز	z		ن	n	
س	s		ه	h	
ش	s̲h̲		و	w	
ص	ẕ		ي	y	

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

SIXTY-FIRST YEAR OF ISSUE.

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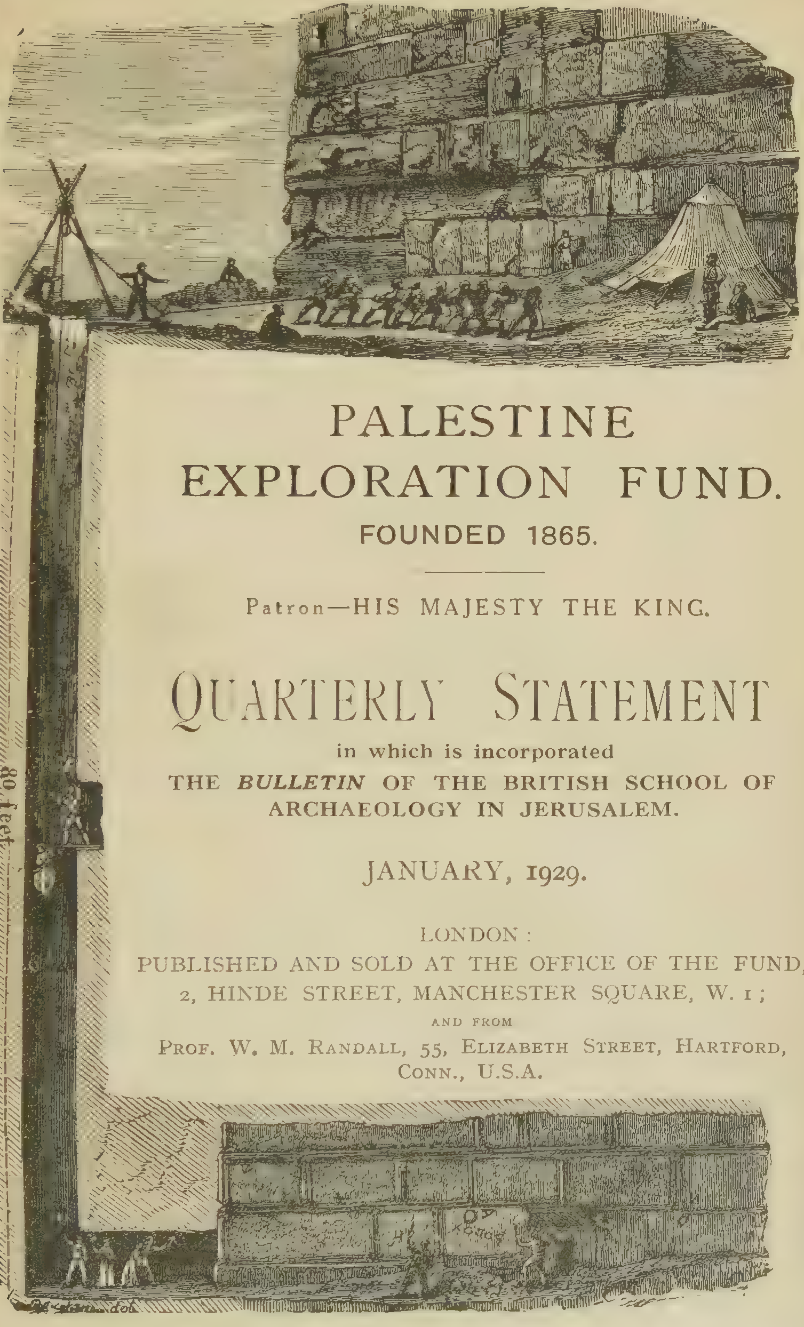

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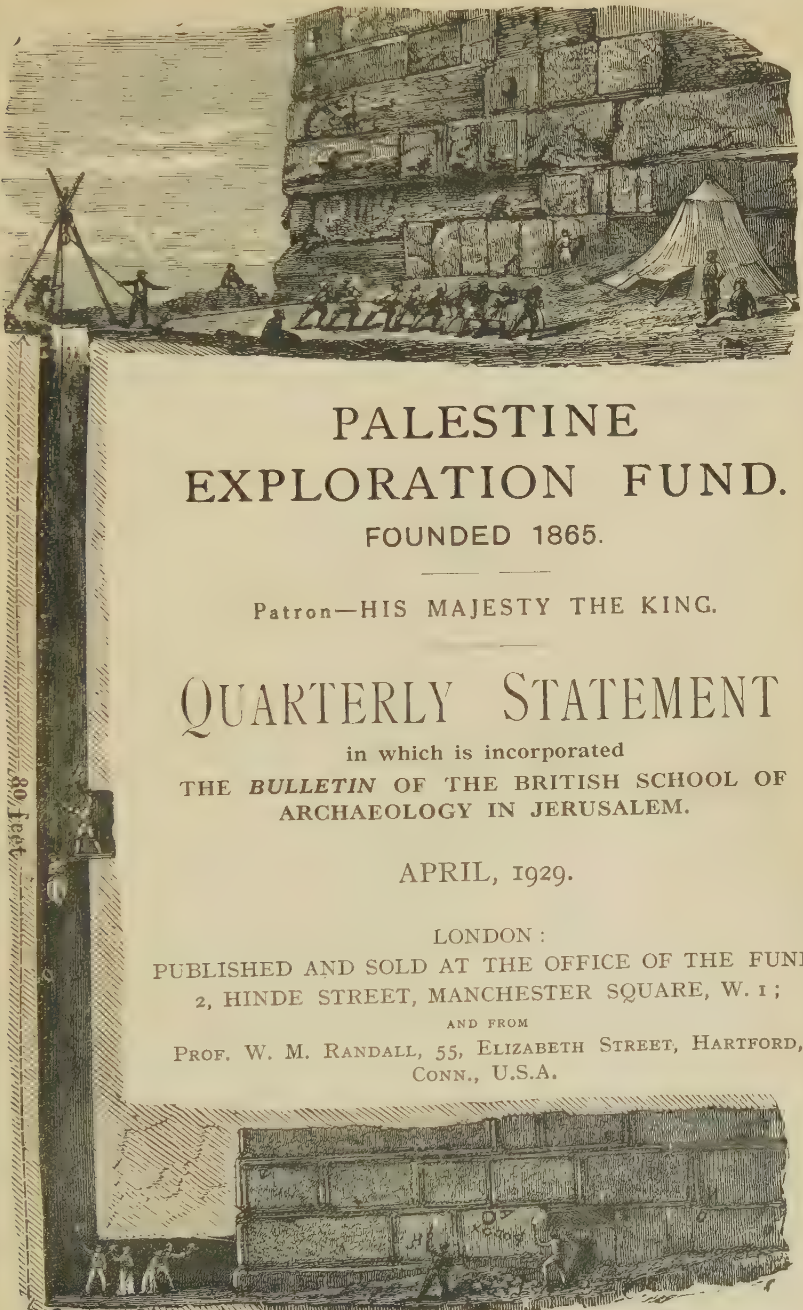

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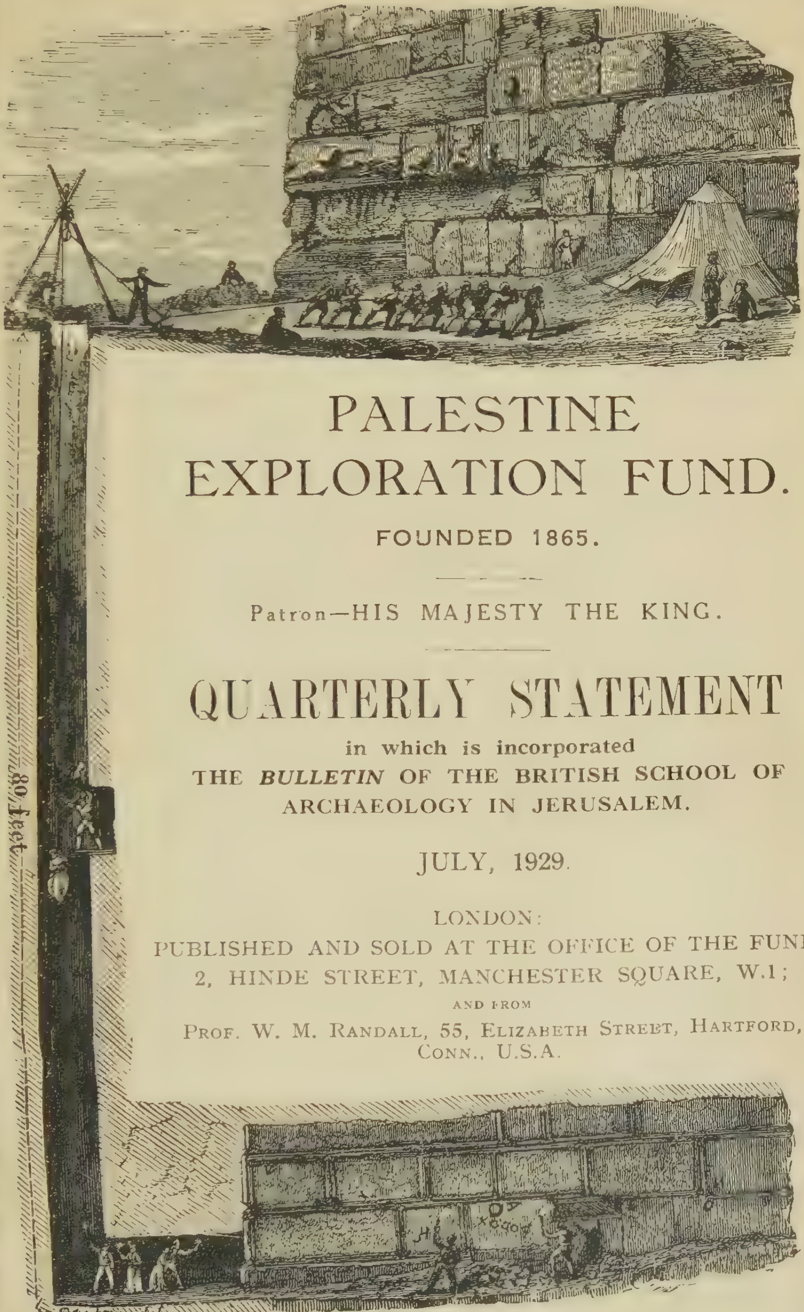

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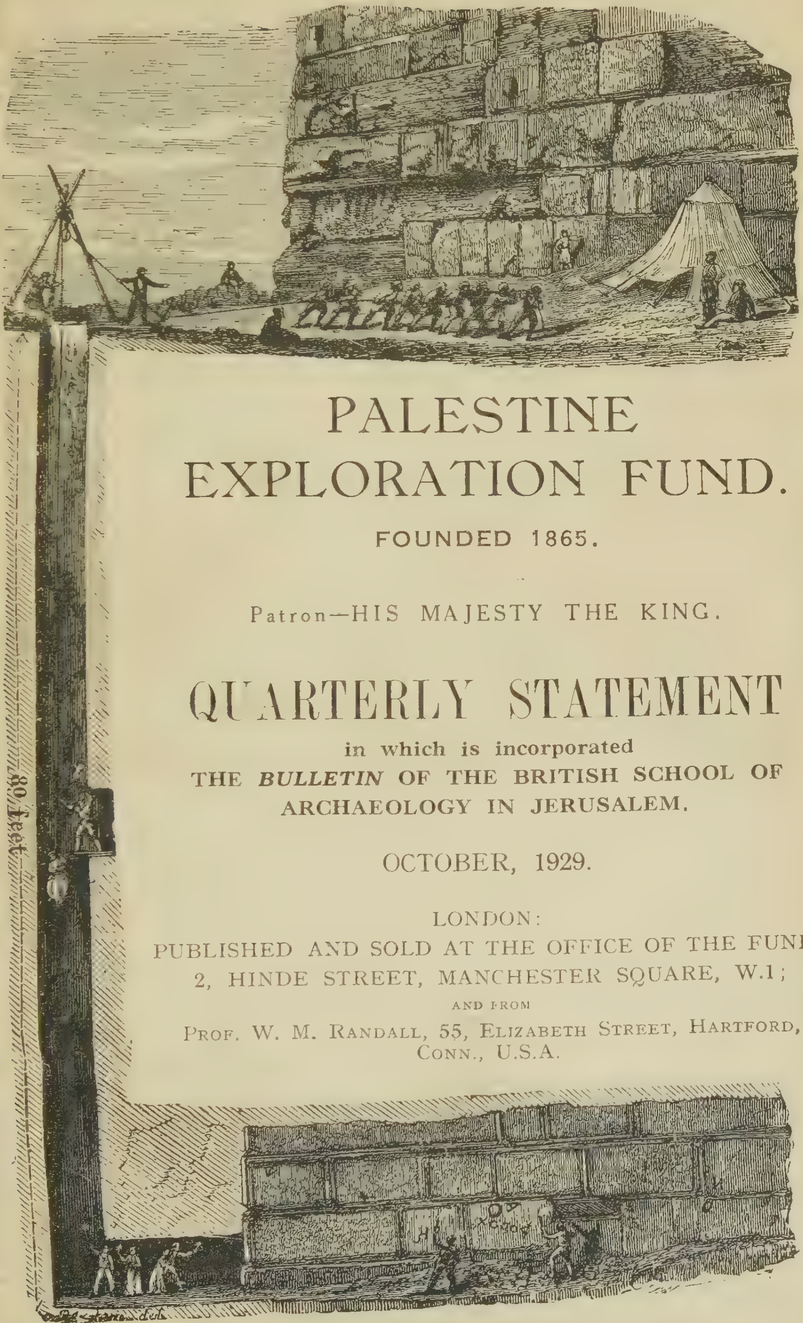

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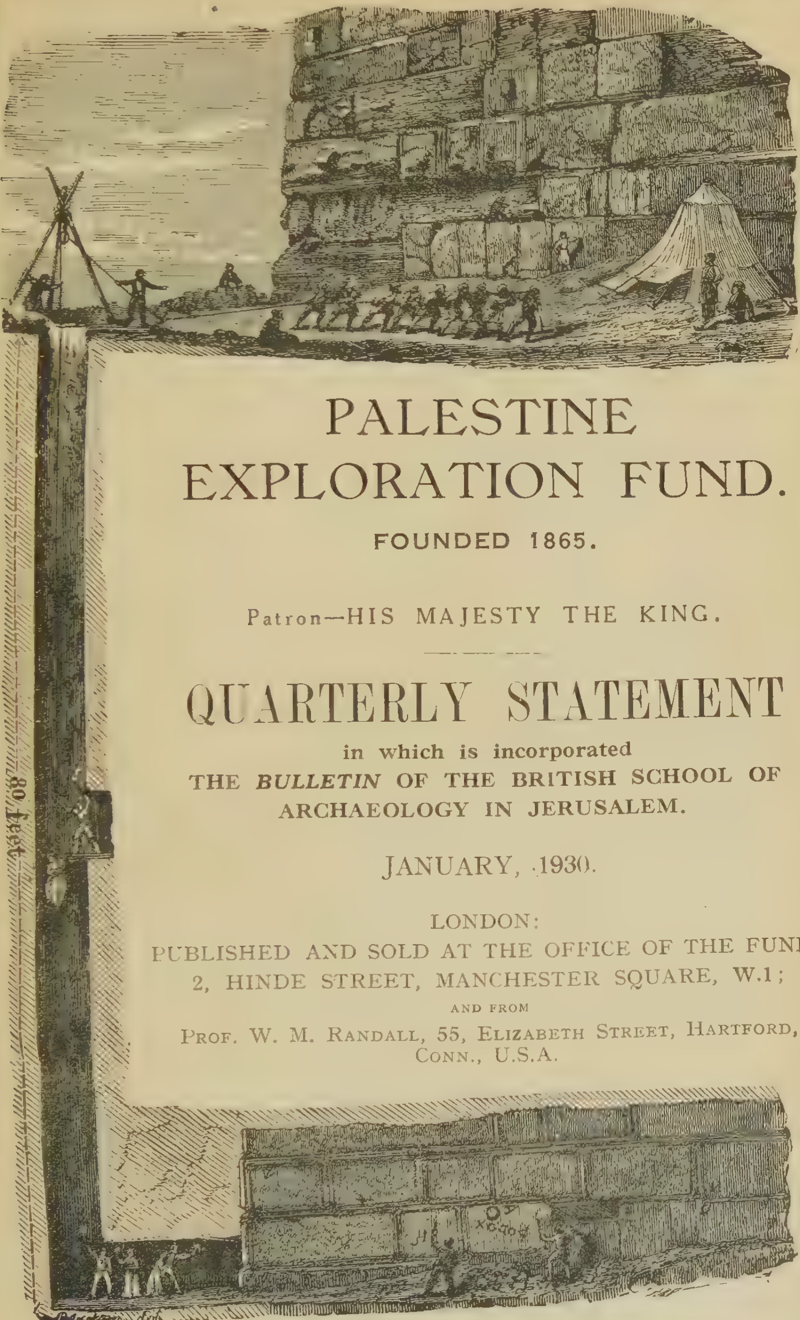

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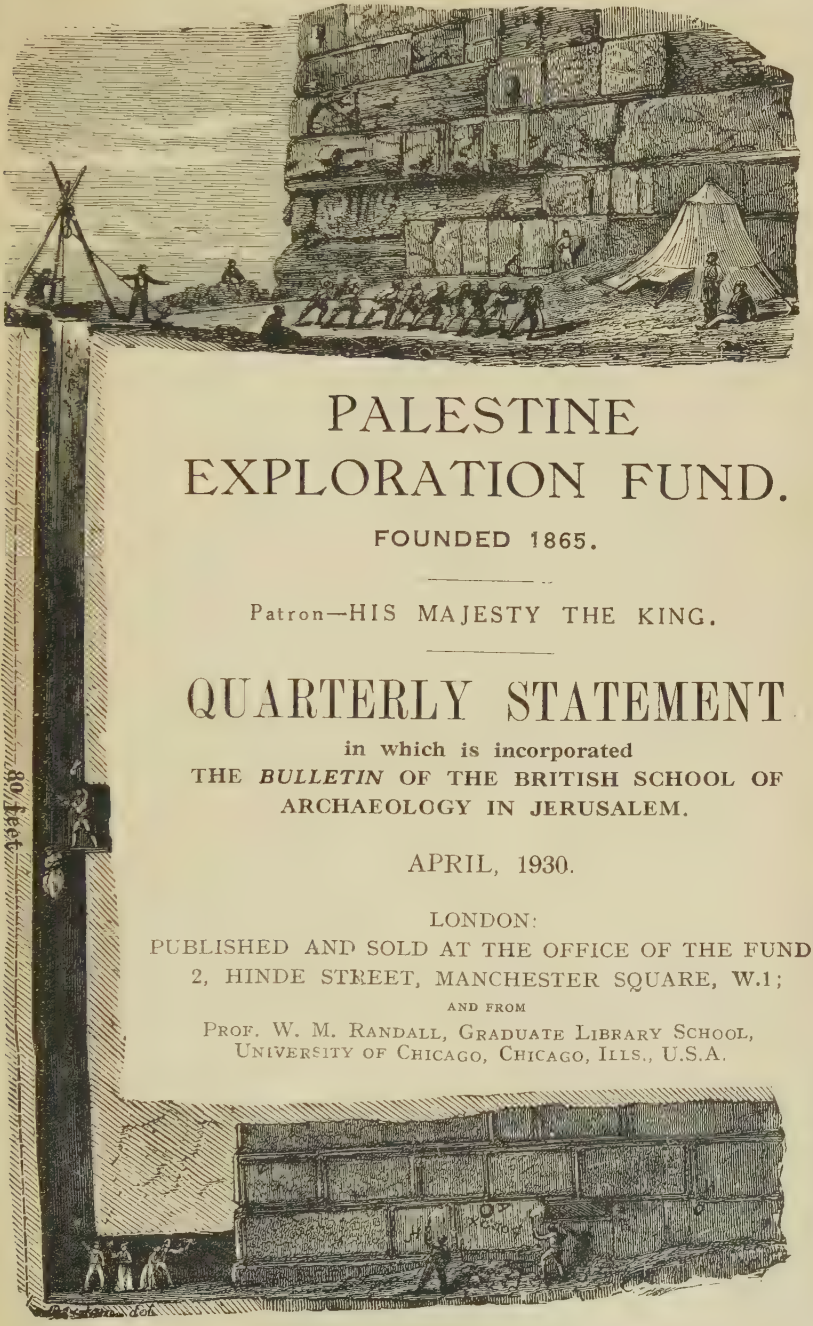

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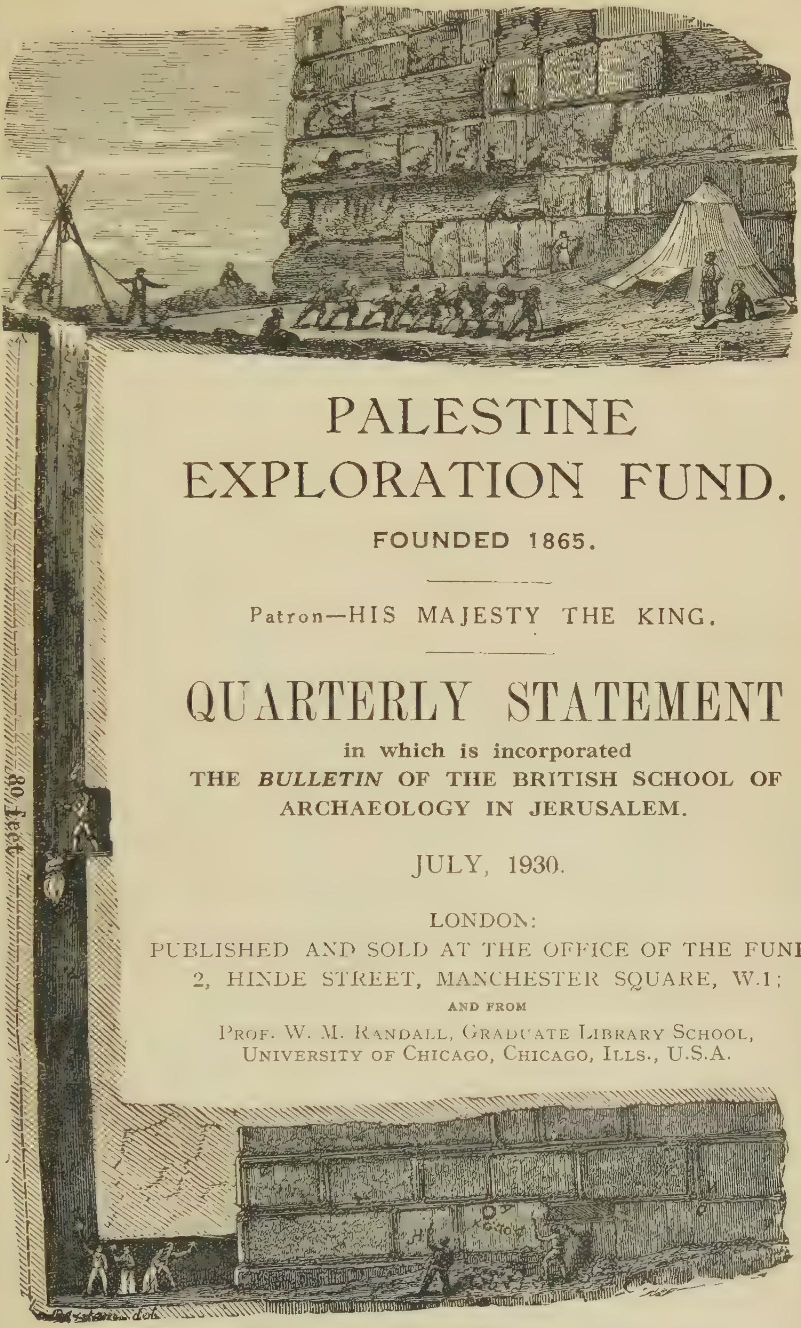

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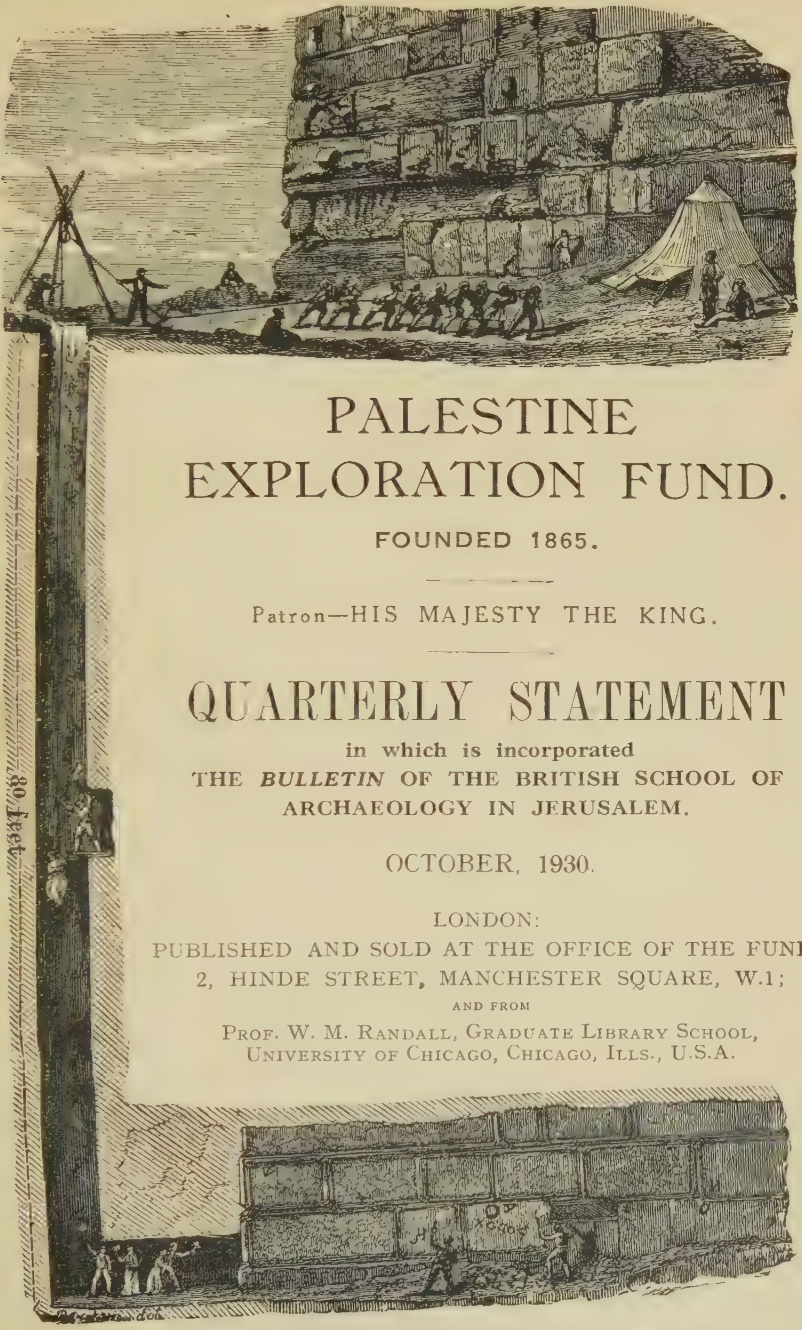

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